ORISSAN ORIENTAL TEXT SERIES (SANSKRIT)-20

SRI GITAGOVINDAMAHAKAVYAM

KAVIRAJA JAYADEVA

श्रीगीतगोविन्दमहाकाव्यम्

N. ramanathan

उत्कलीय-प्राच्य-ग्रन्थमाला (संस्कृतम्)—२०

कविराजश्रीजयदेवविरचितं

श्रीगीतगोविन्दमहाकाव्यम्

[सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरी-श्रुतिरञ्जनीटीकाद्वयोपेतम्]

सम्पादक.

डक्टर श्रीभगवान् पण्डा, एम्. ए.
साहित्याचार्य्यः

ओड़िशाराज्यसंस्कृतिविभागनिर्द्देशालयः,
भुवनेश्वरम्

प्रकाशकः

ओड़िशा-राज्य-संस्कृतिविभागनिर्देशालयः
भुवनेश्वरम्

प्रथममुद्रणम्— १०००
१९८५.

कटकस्थ सप्तर्षि प्रिण्टर्स
मुद्रणालये मुद्रितम्

मूल्यम् रू

n ramanathan

Orissan Oriental Text Series (Sanskrit)—20

ŚRĪGĪTAGOVINDAMAHĀKĀVYAM

By

Kavirāja Śrījayadeva

[With Sarvāṅgasundarī and Śrutirañjanī Commentaries]

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Directorate of Culture, Orissa

Bhubaneswar

Published by

Directorate of Culture, Orissa

Bhubaneswar

First Edition—1000,
1985

Printed at :

Saptarshi Printers, Cuttack-753010

Price Rs.

FOREWORD

The great poet Jayadeva will remain ever immortal for his unique work 'Gītagovinda' which is regarded as an epoch-making creation in the history of the Sanskrit literature. The scholars like Viṣṇuśarmā, Murāri Miśra, Kṛṣṇa Mishra, Śatānanda Āchārya, Govardhan Āchārya and the saint poet Jayadeva have earned a great name and an irrefutable fame for their home land, Orissa. ŚrīJayadeva was born in Kenduli, a Brahmin Sāsan (village), situated on the bank of the Prāchī river flowing in the district of Puri. He flourished during the middle of the 12th century as a devoted Vaiṣṇava saint. He had composed his Gītagovinda in praise of Lord Kr ṣṇa or Lord Jagannātha at Puri. The saint-poet and his devoted wife Padmāvati sang the songs of Gītagovinda before Lord Jagannātha everyday till death.

The Gītagovinda since the time of its incorporation in the Nityaseva (daily worship) of Lord Jagannātha, has influenced the scholars, poets and artists of other parts of India. Now it is well-known to all the oriental scholars of the world. Poet Jayadeva, his Gītagovinda, Lord Jagannātha and Orissa are inseparable, as Gītagovinda has become a part and parcel of the social, cultural and religious life of the people of Orissa for over eight hundred years.

I hope the present edition of Gītagovinda with two commentaries namely 'Sarvāṅgasundarī' and 'Srutiranjani' published for the first time, will fulfil a long-felt desideratum of the scholars and lovers of oriental literature in and outside India.

D. S. Tripathy

25. 9. 85

Director,

Sports and Culture, Orissa, Bhubaneswar

INTRODUCTION

The Gitikâvya or lyrical kāvya is a concomitant of dramaturgy, music and dancing. It is a poetry which touches the innermost core of the human life. It is an expression in beautiful form and melodious language of the best thoughts and noblest emotions which is the spectacle of life awakening the finest souls. It is composed according to the science of poetics.

The Gītagovindamahākāvyam by Kavirāja Jayadeva is the first lyrical kāvya of Orissa in Sanskrit. In form and nature, it is regarded as the first and famous lyrical work in the history of Sanskrit literature. Sādhupradhāna Jayadeva was born in Kenduvilva, a Brahmin Sāsan, situated on the bank of the sacred river Prāchī in the district of Purī, as the worthy son of Bhoja Deva and Rāmā Devī. He was a contemporary of king Kāmārnava Deva (1147-1156-A. D) and Rāghava Deva (1156-1170-A D), the sons of Chodaganga Deva of the Ganga dynasty and composed his immortal work Gītagovinda at Purusottama Purī during this period.

The Gītagovinda is familiar to one and all in every nook and corner of this country for its melodious songs based on the divine love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. It is so much successful as a musical poetry, that it is often commented as a unique phenomenon in the history of world literature. No other

poet has achieved such abiding immortality and imperishable distinction as Jayadeva did for his single and solitary piece of a small kāvya, Gītagovinda. The fame of Gītagovinda has never been confined within the terminus of this land but has travelled far and wide. Different divergent opinions are expressed on the form and style of Gītagovinda which is neither a pastoral or melodrama nor a stotra in praise but verily a lyrical kāvya composed in Odisi musical form to present the prevalent, 'yātrā' form of ancient Orissa.

LOCATION OF KENDUVILVA

Among the famous sanskrit poets and scholars of ancient times very few have left accounts about their personal history in their works. In this connection, mention may be made of Bilhaṇa and Maṅkha, who in their 'Vikramāṅkadevacharita' and 'Śrīkaṇṭhacharita' respectively furnish full accounts of their lives and contemporaries. Bāṇabhatta, the celebrated author of the court of Harshavardhana, gives a brief account of his family in the introductory verses of his 'Kādambarī' whereas a detailed account of his ancestors and himself is found in the first three 'Uchhvāsas' of his Harṣacharita.[1] From this, it is known that Bāṇabhatta was of the 'Vatsagotra' and his forefathers were living in a

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1. (a) Kadambari—P. 6-9.
   (b) Harshacharita—P. 1-231.

Brāhmin village near the river Śoṇa and the name of his residence was Pritikūta.[1] In the prelude to his drama 'Pārvatī parinaya' Bāṇa also speaks very highly of himself and his family.[2]

Similarly Bhavabhūti, who is acknowledged as the greatest Sanskrit dramatist next to Kālidāsa, speaks of his family and birth place 'Padmapura' in the introductory portion of his drama 'Mahavīracharitam.'[3] In his other drama 'Mālati mādhava' he locates Padmapura in the Vidarbha territory.[4]

Śatānanda Āchārya the famous astronomer of Puruṣottama of Puri speaks of his birth place, parents and the date of composition of his work in the last verse of his Bhāsvatī.[5]

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1. (क) शोणमवतीर्णायां सावित्र्यां (P-15) (ख) सरस्वतीशोणसैकते समुपविष्टा (P-17) (ग) कृतदारपरिग्रहास्यास्य तस्मिन्नेव प्रदेशे प्रीत्या प्रीतिकूटनामानं निवासम् (P 18) घ) वात्स्यायनवंशाश्रयामात्मनो जन्मभुवं ब्राह्मणाधिवासमगमत् (P-19)

2. अस्ति कविसार्वभौमो वत्सान्वय जलधिसम्भवो बाणः (Act-I verse-4)

3. "अस्ति दक्षिणापथे पद्मापुरं नाम नगरं × × ×
भट्टगोपालस्य पौत्रः पवित्रकीर्त्तिनीलकण्ठस्यात्मसम्भवः
श्रीकण्ठपदलाञ्छनो भवभूति नाम जातुकर्णी पुत्र ।"

4. अस्ति दक्षिणापथे विदर्भेषु पद्मपुरं नाम नगरम् ।

5. "खखाश्विवेदप्रमिते युगाब्दे दिव्योक्तितः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्थः ।
श्रीमान् शतानन्द इतीदमाह सरस्वतीशङ्करयोस्तनुजः ॥
(O. H. R. J. Vol. V. No. 3, PP. 163—189.)

Kavipandita Govardhana Āchārya, who is referred to by ŚrīJayadeva in his Gītagovinda, adores his father Nīlāmbara and speaks highly of his two younger brothers Udayana and Balabhadra in an introductory verse and concluding verse of his work 'Aryā Saptaśatī'.[1]

According to the tradition Govardhana wrote a 'Śataka' in praise of Jagannātha while residing at Puri, but no manuscript of the work has yet been available.

Following the example set by great scholars like Bānabhatta Bhavabhūti and others, the saintly poet ŚrīJayadeva poetically speaks of him as born from the ocean of 'Kinduvilva' in a verse of his work Gītagovinda.[2]

In all the commentaries of the Gītagovinda 'Kinduvilva' or Kenduvilva has been accepted as the birth place of ŚrīJayadeva. But there has been long standing controversy regarding the identification of this place. Many scholars have tried to locate the village Kinduvilva on the bank of the Ajaya river in the Birbhum district of Bengal, whereas the Orissan scholars advocate the claim of Kinduvilva near the Pratāprudrapura

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1. (a) कविमहमुशनसमिव तं तातं नीलाम्बरं वन्दे (V-38)
   (b) उदयनवलभद्राभ्यां सप्तशती शिष्यसोदराभ्यां नः ।
   द्वैरिव रविचन्द्राभ्यां प्रकाशिता निर्मलीकृत्य ॥ (V-701)

2. "वर्णितं जयदेवकेन हरेरिदं प्रवणेन ।
   किन्दुविल्व समुद्रसम्भवरोहिणीरमणेन ॥

(Contd—III. P—7, 8)

Śāsana between the rivers Prāchī and Kuśabhadrā in the district of Puri for identification with Kinduvilva mentioned in the Gītagovinda.

The supporters of the Bengal origin of the poet, base their arguments on the account given in a Bengali work called 'Jayadeva Charita' written by one Banamālī Dāsa. According to the story narrated in this work, a Brahmin couple hailing from the South to Puri with their daughter 'Padmāvatī' already dedicated to the services of lord Jagannātha was directed in a dream by the Lord to find out ŚrīJayadeva living in a village named Kinduvilva on the bank of the Ajaya river who would be her suitable bridegroom.

Obeying the dictates of the lord the couple made a journey to Kinduvilva with their daughter, which took them twenty days to reach their destination. After their arrival at this place, they enquired about the whereabout of ŚrīJayadeva. The local people, who were ignorant about the pedigree of the Poet simply informed them that a semimad Sādhu named Jayadeva was living in a mandapa of Śiva on the bank of the river. The strangers were then taken to 'Kadamba-khandi' a place under a Kadamba tree on the river bank where ŚrīJayadeva was wrapt in deep meditation, which was disturbed by the noise made by the crowd surrounding him. The strangers were then introduced to the saint, who after conversation with the Brāhmin agreed to marry his daughter Padmāvatī, if it was so desired by Lord Jagannātha. On that very night the Lord directed him in a dream to marry Padmā-

vatī to compose Gītagovinda for glorifying the līlā of Śri Rādhā and Mādhava, which were lying submerged in the water of the Ajaya river.

On the next morning ŚriJayadeva narrated the whole story of his dream before the local people, wh) ent husiastically brought out the two images from the bed of the river on the auspicious day of Pausha Saṃkrānti, which were subsequently installed in the village with great pomp and ceremony by the Mahārājā of Vardhamāna, who also helped the performance of the marriage ceremony of Jayadeva with Padmāvati. A temple and a beautiful house were made for the images and ŚriJayadeva respectively by the Mahārājā at a great cost.

The traditions about the writing of *'Dehipadapallavam-udāram'* by ŚriKṛṣna himself in the disguise of ŚriJayadeva in the manuscript at the time of composition of the Gītagovinda and the organisation of a big Vaishnava mela on the bank of the Ajya river and to the mysterious flow of water of the river upstream on that particular day which is explained to the people as the appearance of the Gaṅgā in this river are vividly described in this work. After establishing the sanctity and importance of the Kadambakhandi ghat on the Ajaya river by their stay for some years the saintly couple strongly desired to go on pilgrimage to Vṛndāvanadhāma. But the main problem for them was the carriage of the two heavy images of ŚriRādhā and Mādhava to this far off place. As told in a dream, this was solved by the transformation of

the images into sacred a sālagrāma which they could easily carry to Vṛindāvana at the time of their pilgrimage to that holy place. Moved by the emotional prayers of the saint-couple, this holy Śālagrāmasilā again assumed the original forms of ŚriRādhā and Mādhava and used to be worshipped by them for long twelve years, after which they went to heaven.

Now the authenticity of 'Jayadeva Charita' by Vanamālī Dāsa composed in Bengali *sana* 1208 or 1801 A D. on which the whole theory of the Bengal origin of the poet is based deserves close examination. This work was printed and published by the Bangiya Sāhityaparishad, Calcutta from a single copy it made in Bengali *sana* 1323 or 1916 A. D. Nothing is known about the original manuscript nor another manuscript of this work has yet been discovered else where in Bengal. [1]

This clearly indicates that this work never gained any popularity in Bengal or might be its authenticity was doubted by the copyists, who always take initiative in giving publicity to important works. The sole object of writing this work was to eulogise the achievements of the Mahārājā of Vardhamāna who brought this place to prominence by building the ŚriRādhāvinoda temple which was cleverly associated with ŚriRādhāMādhava images supposed to have been worshipped by the saintly couple ŚriJayadeva and Padmāvatī. It is alleged that there was a slab containing an inscription in

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1. "कोन आदर्श पुथि हइते एइ ग्रन्थ नकल करा हय ताहा जाना याय नाइ। ए ग्रन्थ अन्य कोथा व पावया याय नाइ" । वीरभूमविवरण—P.209

this Rādhā-Vinoda temple, recording the year of its construction in 1614 Saka or 1692 A. D. which is now missing [1]

The images of ŚriRādhā Vinoda installed in this temple did not originally belong to this place, now proclaimed to be Kinduvilva, but were brought here from the ruins of another place called 'Syamarupara garh' the fort of Syamarpur lying to the South on the other side of the Ajaya river.

The statement that the Mahārājā of Vardhamāna performed the marriage ceremony of ŚriJayadeva with Padmāvatī is pure anachronism, as there was no Vardhamāna Rāja family when the saintly poet flourished. Another important fact which deserves consideration is the omission, in this work, of the established fact of recitation of the Gītagovinda daily in the temple of Lord Jagannātha of Puri from the days of the poet till to-day though its author has started the work by referring to the behest and blessings of the Lord to the parents of Padmāvatī as well as to the saintly poet as discussed before.

The matha on the Ajaya river, now associated with the saintly poet was actually established here by Mahanta Śri Rādhāramaṇa Deva hailing from Vṛindāvana under the

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1. (a) मन्दिरे एकखानि शिलालिपि छिल, याहारा देखिया छिलेन ताहारा बलेन शिलालिपिते 1614 शक अंकित छिल। शिलालिपिखानि हाराइया गियाछे" ।
वीरभूमविवरण—P-229

patronage of the Mahārājā of Vardhamāna. The present Mahanta of this matha being the 9th successor on this gadi,[1] the foundation of this may tentatively be assigned to the last quarter of the 18th century.

It is interesting to note here that another place to the South of this village is called 'Vilvamangaler dhipi' [2] or a mound containing the ruins of the residence of Vilvamangala in order to associate the memory of the famous saintly Vaiṣṇava poet of Southern India with this locality as his birth place and his padāvalis were daily recited before SriChaitanya, along with ŚriGītagovinda, Nātakagīti of Raya (Ramananda) and padāvalis of Chandidāsa and Vidyāpati [3]

Had this Kinduvilva gained prominence as a dhāma or sacred tīrtha like Puri due to the birth of the saintly poet ŚriJayadeva, it would have been visited by ŚriChaitanya, the greatest admirer of the Gītagovinda, the mission of whose

1. The Mahantas after (1) Radharamana are (2) Bharata Dasa, (3) Pyarilal, (4) Hiralal, (5) Phulchand, (6) Ramagopala, (7) Sarvesvara, (8) Rasabihari. They all belong to the Nimbarka school.

2. वीरभूम विवरण—P. 229.

3. चण्डीदास विद्यापति रायेर नाटकगीति कर्णामृत श्रीगीतगोविन्द।

स्वरूप रामानन्द सने महाप्रभु रात्रिदिने गाय शुने परम आनन्द ॥

श्रीचैतन्यचरितामृत—मध्यलीला-२ य—परिच्छेद।

life was the revival of the glory of the sacred places associated with Vaiṣṇavism. But strangely enough the extensive and comprehensive Vaiṣṇava literature of Bengal written in the post-Chaitanya period is entirely silent in this matter, which only proves that the glorification of this place as a dhāma started only after the building of the Rādhā Vinoda temple here in the fag end of the 17th. century.

From the discussion made above it will be clear that an attempt was made in the eighteenth century through the patronage of the Vardhamāna Raj family to locate Kinduvilva, the birth place of the celebrated saintly poet Jayadeva near the Rādhāvinoda temple on the Ajaya river, when his work Gītagovinda gained great popularity and sanctity in the post-Chitanya period. For all these reasons this location cannot be accepted on the basis of the story narrated in a single copy of 'JayadevaCharita' having very little historical value and authenticity.

In this connection it may be stated here that Kenduvilva on the Ajaya river was not known even when the 'Bhaktamālā'[1] in Bengali verses was written by the Vaiṣṇava poet Kṛṣṇa Dasa.

This book is based on the ṭīkā of the famous Hindi Bhaktamālā of Nabhāji, written by Priyā Dasa.[2] This ṭīkā by Priyā Dāsa was composed in V. S. 1769 or 1712 A. D. and as

1. Published by the Vasumati Sahitya Mandir in the Chaitanya era 437 or 1922 A. D.

2. Sri Sri Bhaktamala—P—2.

such the Bengali Bhaktamâlâ can be assigned to the eighteenth century A. D. While narrating the story of the saintly poet Jayadeva, Kṛṣṇa Dāsa has clearly stated that he (Jayadeva) who was born in the village of Kenduvilva, went to Puruṣottama or Puri where he was at first living as a sādhu under a tree and after his marriage with Padmāvatī lived in a cottage in this sacred city near which were installed the images of ŚrīRādhā Mādhava.

He used to take his bath daily in the sea, which was about a mile far from his residence. While staying in his Āśrama at Puri he composed the famous Gītagovinda in which was mysteriously written the pada "Dehi padapallavamudāram" during the period of his absence for bath in the sea by Lord Kṛṣṇa himself. [1] From the preface of this Bengali Bhaktamālä, it is clear that this book was printed after comparing its text with that found in other manuscripts of this work which clearly indicates its popularity and authenticity. So the information furnished by it is more reliable than the Bengali 'Jayadeva Charita' discussed above.

Even in the last quarter of the 18th century the tradition about the birth of Jayadeva in one of the Southern provinces of India was current as will be evident from the quotation given below from the learned article entitled 'On the musical modes of the Hindus' by Sir William Jones, written in 1784, and since much enlarged and published in 1799. [2]

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1. Sri S.i Bhaktamala—P—132—133
2. Asiatic Researches vol. III, 1799, P. 83—84.

'Although the Sanskrit books have preserved the theory of such musical compositions, the practice of it seems almost wholly left (as all the Pandits and Rajas confess) in Gaur and Maghadha, or the provinces of Bengal and Bihar. When I first read the songs of Jayadeva who has prefixed to each of them, the name of the mode, in which it was anciently sung.

I had hope of procuring the original music but the Pandits of the South referred me to those of the West and the Brāhmins of the West would have sent me to those of the South while they, I mean those of Nepal and Kashmir, declared that they had no ancient music, but imagined that the notes to the Gītagovinda must exist if anywhere, in one of the Southern provinces where the poet was born.'

As a great admirer of the Gītagovinda, Sir William Jones also published a separate paper entitled 'Gītagovinda or the song of Jayadeva' containing the translation of some important verses of this work.

In the preface to this work he has written thus. 'The loves of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā × × × × are the subject of the little pictoral drama entitled Gītagovinda; it was the work of Jayadeva, who flourished, it is said before Kālidāsa and was born as he tells us himself in Kenduli which many believe to be in Kalinga, but since there is a town of a similar name in Burdwan, the natives of it insist that the finest lyrical poet of India was their countryman and celebrate in

honour of him an annual jubilee, passing a whole night in representing his drama and in singing his beautiful songs. [1]

It is quite clear that Sir William Jones, a great Sanskrit scholar of the 18th century and an admirer of the Gītagovinda tried to collect all available information about its author during the period of his stay in Bengal for about ten years (1784-1794) as the founder president of the Asiatic Society and a Judge of the supreme court. According to him Jayadeva was born in one of the Southern provinces and many people even in his time believed that Kenduli, the birth place of the poet was in Kalinga or Orissa. It is also evident from this preface that an attempt had already been made by his time in Bengal to claim 'the finest lyrical poet of India' as their countryman' on the ground of similarity of the name of Kenduli village in Burdwan, where an annual jubilee was being held in honour of the poet.

The conclusion made by Dr. Sukumar Sen on the wrong and unconvincing location of Kenduvilva on the Ajaya river is worth mentioning. The English rendering of the above Bengali passage from the work of Dr. Sukumar sen, who is accepted as an authority on the Bengali literature especially of the Pre-Chaitanya and Post-Chaitanya periods is given below.

'There might have existed a village called Kenduli in Bengal in the past, but it does not exist at present. Though

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1. Op. Cit.—P-180-207

the place where the mela or annual fair is held in honour of ŚrīJayadeva is vaguely called Kenduli, it has got no connection with any village. The mela is held on the sandy strips of land on the bank of the Ajaya river on the day of Pausha saṃkrānti for taking bath in its water.

The name of the adjoining village is not Kenduli. There is no evidence regarding the existence of the Kenduli village in this locality. Only the mela held on the occasion of taking a dip in the holy water of the river by a vast crowd of people on the first day of the auspicious month of Makara is known as 'Jayadeva—Kenduli' or simply 'Kenduli'. Investigation is to be made to find out whether the term Kenduli is more commonly used in this region for denoting a mela. There is no mention of this mela being held in memory of Jayadeva nor is there any reference to Kenduli or any other place as the birth place or place of residence of Jayadeva in the literature of the days of ŚriChaitanya. The birth place of Nityānanda is not very far from this place. So the silence of the biographies of ŚriChaitanya about the existence of Kenduli is really surprising. The story of the temple and the sacred precincts starts only from 1694 A. D., supposed to be the year of construction of the temple.[1] The conclusion made by Dr. Sen regarding the non-existence of Kenduli on the Ajaya river in Bengal is quite convincing and should be accepted as the final say in this matter.

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1. वाङ्गला साहित्येर इतिहास—प्रथमखण्ड-पूर्वार्द्ध—P-41.

KENDULI ON THE RIVER PRACHI.

Kenduli Śāsan on the Prachi River is Kenduvilva, the birth place of the poet Kavirāja Jayadeva. The location of the Brahmin village Kinduvilva, not far from Puri in Utkala Deśa (Orissa) is based on the clear evidence furnished by Chandra Dutta, a noted Maithili Pandit in his 'Bhaktamālā' written in sanskrit [1] This commendable work though modelled on the famous Hindi 'Bhaktamālā' of Nābhāji written in Samvat 1642 or 1585 A. D. is more elaborate and informative in its treatment. Another Maithili poet named Chandra Dutta who was a great admirer of Jayadeva wrote 'Kāśigīta' in imitation of the Gitagovinda to glorify the Keli of Kaśī and Sañkara.[2]

The influence of the Gītagovinda is also clearly noticed in his other work 'Viraviruda' of which he also wrote a commentary. [3] If both the Maithili authors bearing the same name and belonging to the same caste are taken to be identical which is quite probable, he as an author of an imitation of

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1. जगन्नाथपुरीप्रान्ते देशो वै चोत्कलाभिधे।
किन्दुविल्व इति ख्यातो ग्रामो ब्राह्मणसंकुलः ॥
तत्रोत्कले द्विजो जातो जयदेव इति श्रुतः।
विद्याभ्यासरतः शान्तः पुरुषोत्तमपूजकः ॥

(भक्तमाला-सर्ग—39, P-61)

2. A Descriptive Cat. of Manuscripts in Mithila
vol. II P-22

3. (a) Mitra—Notices, vol. VII, P. t. 1 1883 P. P. 132-133
(b) Ibid-P. P. 80-81.

the Gītagovinda is expected to have collected all available information regarding the biography of its saintly author. A critical examination of the Bhaktamālā clearly indicates that its author, who was a great devotee of Jagannātha of Puri has compared his work to his Mahāprasāda which is respectfully taken by the Brāhmins of the highest order.[1] In several places of his work he has referred to the glory of Lord Jagannātha while narrating the biographies of saints from different parts of India.[2] So his account of ŚrīJayadeva whose biography is closely interlinked with the divine behests of the Lord Jagannāth is more reliable than that given in the Bengali 'Jayadeva Charita' the authenticity of which is seriously doubted.

In the Sarvāṅgasundarī tīkā on the Gītagovinda written by Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa of Orissa in the middle of the 14th century, the term 'Kinduvilva Samudrasambhava rohinī ramaṇena' is interpreted as a Brahmaṇa Śāsana.[3] This proves that 'Kinduvilva śasan' can be convincingly identified with the Brahmaṇa village Kenduli Śāsan on the Prāchī river, whereas Kenduli on the Ajaya river was never a Śāsana or Brāhmaṇa village in any period.

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1. अन्यत्र द्विजसंस्पृष्टं भोक्तुं न जायते मनः।
जगन्नाथपुरेऽश्नाति सर्वश्रेष्ठ द्विजोऽपि हि ॥
भक्तमाला 149 सर्ग, P-214

2. Bhaktamala—Cantos—24, 31, 39—41, 47, 51-54, 69, 70, 92, 97—101, 115, 117, 120 and 124.

3. किन्दुविल्वाख्यशासनं तच्च महत्वात् समुद्रत्वेन रूपितं, किन्दुविल्व-समुद्रसम्भवश्चासौ रोहिणीरमणश्चेति × × तदेवं किन्दुविल्वशासनाज्जातस्तस्यैवोन्नतिकारको यथा सागराज्जातः चन्द्र सागरवृद्धिकारक इत्यर्थः संपद्यते ।
(Text Page—132)

Rāṇā Kumbha of the middle of the 15th. century in his well known 'Rasikapriyā' commentary on the Gītagovinda also says that Kinduvilva was a Śāsana.[1]

It may be stated in this connection that the word 'Śāsana' has got great significance in the history of Orissa, which may aptly be called a continuous record of establishment of Śāsanas or Brāhmaṇa villages by its sovereign rulers as well as by their vassal Chieftains from the days of the great Somavaṃsi emperor Yayāti of the 9th. century to the middle of the last century. In the light of the facts stated above, Kinduvilva may safely be regarded as one of the oldest Śāsanas of Orissa, which came to prominence due to birth of the saintly poet, who made it famous by singing its glory in his immortal work.

A notable work named 'Vaiṣṇavalīlāmṛta' composed by Mādhava Pattanaik (1497-1535 A. D.) on the Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Orissa, clearly records that the Kinduvilva or Kenduli Śāsana, the birth place of Kaviraja Jayadeva, the author of the Gītagovinda is situated on the river Prāchī which

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1. किन्दुविल्व तच्छासनं निवासो वा ग्रामः समुद्रइव तच्छम्भव रोहिणीरमणेनेव चन्द्रेणेव (गीतगोविन्द – निर्णयसागरप्रेस संस्करण, १९३७)।

flows in the district of Puri. [1] This is a most important work which gives a detail account of the life and activities of Mahaprabhu ŚriChaitanya in Orissa from 1516 A. D. to the last day of his life in the month of Āṣādha, 1533 A. D. The 'Vaisnavalīlāmṛta', three old palmleaf manuscripts (copied in the middle of the 18th. century) of which noticed so far, has been written in Oriya and divided into nine (9) cantos. It was composed on the 48th. Anka year of Gajapati Prataparudra Deva (1497-1535 A. D.), which corresponds to the year 1535 A. D.[2] Hence it is now evident that ŚriJayadeva, the celebrated poet of the Gītagovinda has nothing to do with the so called Kenduli of Birabhum district of Bengal and that village Kenduli in the Prāchī valley of the Puri district in Orissa, is the real birth place of the poet.[3]

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NAME 'KINDUVILVA'

Orissa as a State, is noted for its extensive forests of Kendu trees, the leaves of which form an important source

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1. विप्र से जयदेव नाम । क्षेत्रवरकु आगमन ॥
केन्दुलि शासन ता ग्राम । प्राची नदीर तटे पुण ॥
श्रीनीलमाधव समीपे । भक्ति कला से नानारूपे ॥
शास्त्र पुराणे विचक्षण । कवित्वमार्गे तार मन ॥
गीत से रचिवि वोइला । क्षेत्रवासकु मन देला ॥
श्री जगन्नाथर समीपे । शुद्धसात्त्विक मति भावे ॥
(वैष्णवलीलामृत-द्वितीयसर्ग)

2. एवकु अङ्क अडचालिश । लिहिवि वैष्णव लीलारस ॥
(वैष्णवलीलामृत—प्रथमसर्ग)

3. Vaisnavalīlāmṛta by Madhava Pattanaik is shortly published by Dr. B. C. Acharya, Reader, Deptt of Oriya, Sambalpur University, Sambalpur, Orissa,

of income to it's exchequer. Some historic places of Orissa like 'Kendujhar', the head quarters of the ancient Bhanja Kingdom (now a district) and 'Kendupātaṇa' in the district of Cuttack where three sets of copper plate grants of the Ganga Emperor Narasimha-II (1273-1307 A. D) were discovered[1] are associated with the growth of Kendu trees. The fertile area of old Bhubaneswar town lying to the west of the Gangua river is popularly called 'Kendu'. The ancient temple of Vilveśvara near the Trivenighāt on the bank of Prāchī, not far from Kenduli, is a living monument bearing testimony to the existence of large number of Vilva (bela) trees in this area.

Hence the Kinduvilva or the present Kenduli area on the Prāchī river must have been so named due to the luxuriant growth of Kendu and Vilva trees in this region, when some portion of it was cleared for establishment of a Brāhmaṇa settlement and building of temples long before the days of SriJayadeva, sometime in the 9th. century A. D. like the famous 'Uruvilva' of the Buddhist age. 'Kinduvilva' on the Prāchī, developed as a religious centre in Orissa from those days of yore till recently, when it was predominantly overgrown by Kendu trees, a lot of which was cut down at the time

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1. Out of these three copper plate grants two were edited and published in the Bengali Visvakosa, Vol. V by N. N. Vasu and the third was edited and published by the same author in the J. A. S. B Vol. LXV, 1896, Page-229-261

of establishment of the Jayadeva cultural centre near the ruined Chandi temple of Kenduli in 1964 by the Department of Culture, Orissa.

ANTIQUITIES OF KENDULI

The ruined Chandi temple of Kenduli consisting of a Vimāna made of ancient bricks and the Jagamohan made of blocks of laterite and sand stone can safely be assigned to the 9th. century A. D. The presiding deity of this shrine, popularly called 'Ambikā', is a two-armed goddess beautifully carved in chlorite stone, who is sitting cross-legged on a double-petalled lotus-seat under a seven hooded serpent over her head. She is holding the stalk of a full blown lotus in her left hand and a bunch of five fruits (mangoes) in her right hand. In her pedestal is carved a flower plant in a vase, flanked by a pouncing lion in the left and two devotees, one male and the other a female in the right. Below the pedestal is depicted an interesting dancing scene which is rarely found in the pedestals. The anklets, girdle, sacred thread, the necklace, armlets, bracelets, the ear ornaments, the kirita and mukuta, worn by deity are excellently executed and immensely enhance the liveliness and vivacity of the image. This beautiful image is a unique specimen of Orissan iconography of the pre-Ganga period.

In the sand stone lintel of this brick temple, which has long fallen down, is found inscribed in the characters of the 12th. century 'Jaya Jaya Deva Hare' from the Gītagovinda of SriJayadeva with figures of 1112 or 1190 A. D. in the margin,

which indicates the association of the poet with this ancient monument of his birth place.[1]

To the south-east of this temple, there was another brick temple, which has now gone out of existence, but its deity, which is a goddess, resembling the one described above in many respects, is still worshipped under a Kendu tree. The clearance of the debris in and around this temple in 1964 brought to light two small Viṣṇu images, one of which has got an oval halo over his head, indicating its antiquity, while the other resembles the lot of Viṣṇu images found in the Prāchī valley. Besides these, the images of Bhairava, Pārvatī, etc, have also been found. Some more old images are expected to come out if the entire area is cleared. In this site is found the lower portion of a small Śiva temple, the Linga of which is called Mukteśvara. Not far from this temple site in the south-west are found two Yupastambhas or sacrificial posts which are traditionally said to have been used by ŚrīJayadeva.

These two pillars are worshipped by the local people on the 'Akṣayatṛtiyā' day every year. There are some old silted up tanks in this locality, one of which was used for the purpose of 'Chandanayātrā' which became very popular in Orissa from the beginning of the Ganga rule over it in the 12th. century. In the other extremity of this village still stands

1. SriJayadeva O SriGitagovinda—P-9.

the temple of Narasimha, built by some Ganga Emperor of Orissa which has recently been reconstructed. In the tank near this temple was discovered under ground a stone box containing a set of copper plates, granted by the Ganga Emperor Narasimha IV (1378-1407 A. D.) which has been re-edited by S. N. Rajguru. [1]

The last Suryavamsi Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva (1497-1535 A.D.) who was a great admirer of the Gītagovinda established a big Śāsana near the Kenduli Śāsana for the settlement of Brāhmins of the locality, which still exists by the name of 'Pratāparudrapur Śāsana'. There was a Matha at Kenduli, which was being visited by pilgrims from different parts of India but the records of this have been transferred a few years back to the Trimāli Matha at Puri which enjoys the Kenduli area as a rent-free estate for offering bhoga to Lord Jagannātha.

At a short distance from the Kenduli village flows the Prāchī, rising not far from Bhubaneswar, which is deemed as a sacred as the famous river Sarasvatī of the Vedic age due to existence of large number of very old Śiva temples on both of it's banks. Its glory is sung in the 'Kapila Samhita' a work of the 13th. century. [2]

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1. (a) J. A. S. Bengal, Vol. LXIV, 1895, Page—134-153.

(b) O H R J—Vol. V, 1956, Page—1-100.

2. Kapila Samhita—P-105-106.

It is persistently asserted in the Orissan tradition that the saint Jayadeva used to take his bath daily in the 'Triveni Saṅgama' of the Prāchī which is about two miles away from 'Kinduvilva' where he used to worship with deep devotion the 'Triveni Madhava' who is still worshipped on the ghāta. A big annual fair is held near this ghāta on the Amāvāsya of the lunar month of March, which is called 'Triveni Amāvāsyā' in Orissa.[1]

Poet Jayadeva was a great devotee of Mādhava. Kṛṣṇa, the God of his devotion was Mādhava. He has begun his work with benediction to 'Rādhā-Mādhava.' He has directed his Rādhā to unite with Mādhava saying 'Praviśa' Rādhe Mādhava samīpamiha.[2] He was mad after Mādhava. This was so because the Prāchī valley where he was born is full of Mādhava temples of the pre-Ganga and early Ganga periods of which twelve Mādhavas are famous. In the compound of the Śobhaneśvara temple of the Niali Sāsana on the bank of the river Prāchī which is about six miles far from the Kenduli Śāsana, one can see a dozen big Mādhava images beautifully carved in chlorite stone, which have been brought to this place from different temples on the Prāchī river, which were razed to the ground by the invading Muslim army in the 17th. and 18th. centuries. The great Mādhavānanda temple not far from Niāli which is a unique monument of this State was built during the life time

1, Prachi Mahatmya—SMS. No. 82 P-18-27

2, Gitagovinda—Text, Page-311.

of the poet. The Mādhava worship in Orissa has got great antiquity.

The earliest Mādhava image is perhaps the beautiful Nilamādhava figure carved in chlorite stone, which is still worshipped in a temple of the 9th. century A. D. at Gandharādi on the right bank of the river Mahānadī near the Boud town. The worship of God Mādhava performed daily with deep devotion and reverence in a large number of temples, which were raising their heads with all their splendour and magnificence around his native place Kenduvilva Śāsana during the days of ŚriJayadeva must have made a deep impression on the mind of this thoughtful and saintly poet from his childhood, which slowly but imperceptibly shaped his career as a great devotee of ŚriMādhava, whose glory he has sung in the sweet and melodious songs of his Gītagovinda. At a short distance from the Kenduvilva Śāsana, still stands Vanamālipur, the abode of Vanamāli, on the left bank of the Kuśabhadrā river, who was emotionally described as 'Chandanacharchitanīlakalevara pītavasana Vanamālī' by the saintly poet in the first canto of his work.

From the fore-going discussion it can be said with emphasis that the Kenduli Śāsan on the Prāchī had got very rich Archaeological background and devotional environment of the pre Ganga period, which contributed a lot in moulding the career of the saintly poet Jayadeva, where as the Birbhum Kenduli sadly lacks in this respect and has got no antiquities worth the name, which can be assigned to the pre-seventeenth century. Hence this place can convincingly be identified

with Kinduvilva proclaimed with pride as his birth place by the poet in his immortal work, the Gītagovinda.

FAMILY OF THE POET

Following the examples set by the great poets like Bhavabhūti, ŚriHarṣa and others ŚriJayadeva speaks of his father Bhojadeva and Ramā Devī in the concluding verse of his work.[1] This verse found in the earliest commentaries of Gītagovinda like Sarvāṅgasundari Tīkā by Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, Sāradeepikā Tīkā of Jagaddhara, can be accepted as genuine, though the gloss of it is not found in some later commentaries.

DEVA A SURNAME

The word Deva in the names of Bhojadeva and Jayadeva may be taken as the family surname as Brahmin donees with the Deva surname are found in the copper plate grant of the Bhauma kings of Orissa i.e. Sobhana Deva in Neulpur plate of Śubhākara Deva of the year 54 (C. 668-AD) and Sarva Deva in the Kumarāṅga plate of Dandī Mahādevī. Similarly we find the name of a king Jaya Bhanja where Bhanja is the surname.[2]

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1. (a) Uttara Rama Charita—P-3.
   (b) Naishadhiya Charita (N. S. P. Edn. 1952) Last verse of all the 22 Cantos.
   (c) Gitagovinda—XII-10.
2. (a) Epigraphia Indica—Vol. XV, 1982, Page - 1-8,
   (b) J. B. O. R. Society—Vol. V PP—564-77.
   (c) E. I. Vol, XIX. PP—41-45.

In the Bhanja families of ancient Orissa single words forming the names of several kings with the Bhanja surname are found i. e. Diśa, Śila, Śatru, Raṇa, Diga Netta, Deva, Vīra, Rāṇa, Yaśa, Kamaka, Solaṇa Adi, Kotta, Pṛthvī. From the study of the Jaina inscriptions we come to know of some persons bearing the name 'Jayadeva' who flourished before our poet.[1]

From the inscription in the caves at Khandagiri we know that the Digambara Jainas of Orissa were receiving the patronage of Udyota Keśari (C. 1050-A. D.), a great supporter of Brahminical religion, which indicates that there was good relation between the Jainas and Hindus. So Bhoja Deva might have given this name popular among the Digambara Jainas to his son.

WIFE PADMĀVATĪ –

Jayadeva speaks of his wife Padmāvatī in three places of his work. The word 'Padmāvatī' of his verse has been interpreted in two ways, one in the sense of his wife and the other in the sense of Lakṣmī.[2]

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1. (a) Mathura Prakrit Inscriptions.-JSS-Vol. II, P-21.
   (b) Lakṣmanesvara Sanskrit Inscription of Saka year 656 or 734-AD.
   (c) Jaina Silalekha Samgraha—Vol. II, P-35, 114.
   (d) Dubekund Sanskrit Inscription of Samvat 1145 or 1088 AD.
   JSS-Vol. II, P-193, 344.
2. (a) Gitagovinda—I-3, X-19-8, XI-21-8,
   (b) Ibid—Text page—9-14, 316-317.

In view of the interpretations made by the commentators, Padmāvatī may undoubtedly be taken as the wife of the saintly poet Jayadeva.

DEVADĀSĪ PADMĀVATĪ.

Traditions current about the saintly poet in different parts of India are unanimous in proclaiming Padmāvatī as a Devadāsī in the temple of Jagannātha at Puri. This is indirectly corroborated by the poet's boastful expression about himself as, 'Padmāvatī charaṇachāraṇa chakravarti' in second verse of the first sarga of his work. So the traditions may be accepted as based on truth.

From the study of inscriptions of Orissa, we find definite evidence regarding the engagement of Devadāsīs in the temples at least from the middle of the eleventh century. The first reference is found in the Brahmeśvara temple inscription of Queen Kolāvatī Devī, mother of the famous Udyota Keśari, who engaged beautiful ladies adorned with sparkling ornaments for dancing and singing in the temple of Brahmeśvara at Bhubaneswar.[1] From the Mukhalinga temple inscription it is known that Cholaganga Deva made provision for dancing to the tune of songs by Devagaṇikās or Devadāsīs and singing by 'Gāyaka' and beating of drums by 'Vādaka' in the Madhukeśvar temple at Kalinga Nagara[2] or present Mukhalingam. Though the date of the inscription is not given it can definitely be placed before 1147 A.D., the year of death of CholagangaDeva

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1. Studies in Orissan History, Archaeology and Archives—P76
2. Inscriptions of Orissa—Vol. III Pt.—I P-246, 335

The word 'Devagaṇikā' is significant and this 'Sevā' was made hereditary by grant of land by the king. When CholagangaDeva built the great temple of Jagannatha he introduced the custom, of appointing 'Devagaṇikā' for the deity. Even in Śiva temples of less importance like the Śobhaneśvara and Megheśvar built by the vassal Chieftains of the Ganga Emperors we find the engagement of females for the purpose of singing and dancing.[1]

The case of Padmāvatī was some what different. She was not engaged as a Devagaṇikā for the Lord Jagannātha by any royal order but her services were offered as such in fulfilment of a vow made by her father before the Lord Jagannātha. So she was not a regular sevikā of the deity but engaged the liberty of dancing to the tune of the songs which her husband, the saintly poet Jayadeva, used to sing joyfully before Lord Jagannātha inspired by deep devotion for his favourite God SriKṛṣṇa. It might be that he was playing the parts of both Gāyaka and Vādyakāra and his beloved wife Padmāvatī was the Nartakī.

JAYADEVA WAS FIRST A SMĀRTA

In the south-west direction of village Kenduli not far from the temple site containing the temple of Chandī, Śiva and Viṣṇu, all of which are now gone excepting one, there are the portions of two sacrificial posts carved in sand stone buried in the earth. These according to tradition were the sacrificial posts used by poet Jayadeva for which they

1. Inscriptions of Orissa-Vol. III Pt. II, 1961, P—332-349.

are still worshipped by the people. The old big tank not far from it now silted up is said to be 'Chandana Puṣkariṇī' or the tank where the Chandana yātrā used to be performed.

The tradition is authentic because similar yūpa pillars are found in the Agnitīrtha of the Prāchī river near Rāmeśvara Śiva temple in Tala Gopīnāthapur. In the river-bed in this Tīrtha large number of yūpa pillars are found in groups, each group consisting of two or three of them. One of these pillars measures 4' 5'' in height and 3' in circumference. So the remains of two yūpa pillars in his birth place clearly indicate that he was at first a smārta like his forefathers and later on became a Vaiṣṇava either under the influence of Nimbārka or one of his disciples when he worshipped Rādhā Mādhava with great devotion.

TIME OF THE POET

The celebrated poet Jayadeva lived in an age, when Utkala, extending from the river Godāvarī in the south to the Gangā in the north, from the time of the first Ganga Emperor Cholaganga Deva (1077-1147 A. D), was very rapidly flourishing under the powerful and benevolent Ganga Emperors.[1] The prosperity of the country is impressively expressed in two verses cited in two praśastis composed by the poet Udayana Āchārya, who according to tradition was an intimate friend and admirer of SrīJayadeva. The verses clearly speak of the existence of roads with bridges 'setunivahā' having tanks 'pathi

1. (a) E. I. Vol. XIII, 1982, Page—150-155.
   (b) Inscriptions of Orissa—Vol.-III, Pt. II, Page—396.

pathi tadāgā' and sheds for supply of water to the passengers and pilgrims 'prapā, apām śālāmālā', and free feeding houses' 'satrāṇyapi' on both the sides of monasteries for the study of the Vedas and worship of deities, mandapas for the performance of religious functions, villages gifted to the Brāhmaṇas for settlement, 'dvijapura vihārā', arrangement for the burning of perpetual lamps in the temples and luxuriant growth of trees all over the country bounded by the oceans. [1]

From the beginning of the Ganga rule over Utkala (1118-A.D) Buddhism which was once predominant in this land was gradually being pushed to the back ground and steadily but imperceptibly assimilated into revived Brahmanism. Cholaganga Deva, the first Ganga Emperor of Utkala took vigorous step for the revival of Hindu religion. He established Brāhmaṇa villages named Gaṅgeśvarapur, Kauśalyāpur, Kalyāṇapur, Purbaśāsana, Uttara śāsana round the Dhauli hill, the oldest seat of Buddhism in Orissa containing the edicts of Ashoka. The famous Jaina centres Kumāra Parvata near Bhubaneswar were redesignated as Khandagiri and Udayagiri hills. Similar was the fate of other Buddhist and Jaina centres of Orissa in the twelfth century.

This century not only wintessed the gradual disappearance of Buddhism but the steady decline of the Saiva faith when Cholagaṅga Deva, who was formerly Paramamāheśvara

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1. (a) Sobhanesvar temple inscription—
J. B O R S—Vol. XVII, Page—119-135,

(b) Meghesvar temple Inscription—
J A S B—Vol. VI P-89 and E. I. Vol. VI—P-200

became parama-vaiṣṇava since-1118 A. D. and built the present great temple of Jagannātha at Puri (1118-1147 A. D) which marked a new epoch in the history of vaiṣṇavism in India. The Vaiṣṇavism steadily flourished as all the Gaṅga rulers from the time of Cholagaṅga Deva were followers of this faith. The preachings of the four great vaiṣṇava reformers of the South, i,e. SriRāmānuja, ŚrīViṣṇusvāmī; SrīNimbārka and SriMādhava in Utkala and establishment of Mathas by each of them at Puri stimulated the growth and spread of their respective faiths.

ŚrīJayadeva was born in an age when vaiṣṇavism was gaining supremacy in Utkala and was deeply entrenched in the Prāchī valley (containing Kenduvilva, the birth place of the poet) where the ruins of the largest number of Viṣṇu temple had been existing in their full glory and magnificence.

The poet was a contemporary of both the kings Kāmārnava Deva (1147-1156-A D) and Rāghava Deva (1156-1170-A D), the sons of the Ganga Emperor Cholaganga Deva, the founder of the Ganga dynasty in Orissa. He had composed his immortal work, the Gītagovinda, long before its commentary 'Bhāvavibhāvinī which was composed by the Pandit Udayana Āchārya of Orissa about 1170-AD. So the period of the composition of Gītagovinda may be fixed sometime during 1150-1170-AD.

POPULARITY OF MĀDHAVA CULT

The worship of Mādhava (Viṣṇu) was very popular in Orissa at least from the seventh century A. D. The earliest reference to Bhagavān Mādhava is found in the Khurdà plates

of Mâdhavarāja i.e. 'Pravṛtta'-chakraschakradhara Śiva Bhagavān Mādhava ŚrīMādhava-rājakuśali.[1] Here Mādhava is called Chakradhara. In all Viṣṇu images of Orissa called Mādhava, chakra is prominently displayed in the upper right hand of the deity.

The earliest Mādhava image called Nīlamādhava is found in a temple standing near the Śiva temple of Siddheśvara on the same platform in the village of Gandharādi on the south bank of the Mahānadī eight miles far to the town of Baud. These two temples were built by Rāṇaka Śatrubhanja Deva who was a Parama-Vaiṣṇava and issued two copper plate grants in Samvat (Bhauma) 198—one on the Daśapallā grant Viṣuva Saṃkrānti Panchami Ravidine Mṛgasira nakṣatre Samvat-198 and the Ganjam grant on Devotsava dvādaśī Saumya dine Revati Nakṣatre, Samvat-198.[2]

The two dates according to calculation fall on the 21st March, and 21st October, 812 A. D. respectively He being a devoute worshipper of Viṣṇu chose the auspicious 'Devotsavadvādasī or Kârtika Sukla dvādaśī' for making a gift of land. So these twin temples of Nīlamâdhava and Siddheśvara may definitely be assigned to the 'first quarter of the 9th. century. In the same Daśapallā grant we find the name of a village 'Santoṣamādhava' where from the donee imigrated. Santoṣamādhava deity was built by one Santoṣa (Mahādevi) after whom the village was so called. The name of a deity

1. JASB—Vol. LXXIII, 1904, P. 282-286,

2. OHRJ—Vol. I, P—212 and Vol. IV, P. 67-77.

called 'SriLokamādhava' is found mentioned in the Indian Museum (Sāna Khimedi) plates of Indra Varman.[1]

This Indra Varman flourished in some year before Bhauma Samvat 173 or 787 A. D. The temples of Santoṣa Mādhava and Loka Madhava have not yet been located. Following the custom of the age, Cholagang Deva, the first Ganga Emperor of Utkala, built a Viṣṇu temple in the Vijiyanagaram taluk of Vishakhapatna district called 'Cholagangamadhava' about which four inscriptions have been found.[2] This inscription of saka year 1075 or 1154 A. D. speaks of the engagement of 'Vādyakāra. Pujārī, Vadu', etc.

The original Nīlamādhava temple of Kantilo recently reconstructed in the Khandapadā Tahasil on the south bank of the Māhanadī is very important and fairly old. This can be placed in the 9th. or 10th. century A. D. There is another old Nīlamādhava temple in village Brāhmaṇapadā on the bank of the river Kandala (Devi) in the Govindapur P. S. of the Cuttack district which is falling into ruins.

There was a large number of Mādhava temples in the Prāchī valley, which was famous for the worship of this deity. In the compound of the Śobhaneśvar temple of Nīāli Śāsana on the bank of the Prāchī we can see eight big Viṣṇu (Mādhava) images beautifully carved in chlorite, which had been stealthily brought to this place from different temples

1. E, I. Vol.XXVI. PP. 165-171,

2. South Indian inscriptions Vol. X. No. 707, 708, 709, 711.

of the Prāchī valley which were razed to the ground by the iconoclastic Muslim army between (1160-1735 A. D.) The unique Mādhavānanda temple of village Mādhava was built by King Mādhava during the life time of the poet. Other notable Mādhava image of the Prāchī valley is Triveṇī Mādhava, worshipped on the Triveṇī Ghāt, not far from Kenduli, where according to tradition Jayadeva took his bath daily. A big annual fair is held here on the Amāvāsyā of the lunar month of Māgha.

Due to its super workmanship the Mādhavānanda image of Nīlakanthapur (5' 9" × 2' 10") may be regarded as one of the gems of Orissan plastic art. There is another Mādhavānanda image near Rāmakunda (44" × 22") on the bank of the Prāchī which was originally worshipped at Sohagpur. A Madhavananda figure (5' 8" × 2'. 11") is found in the newly reconstructed temple in the village of Mudgala under Kakatapur P. s. not far from the figure of Śankhapāṇi Avalokiteśvara (4' 6" × 4') a deity of the Vajrayana cult. This image is called '*Mudgala Mādhava* by the people.

According to the Prāchī Māhātmya, the Mādhava worshipped near Amareśvara temple on the bank of Prāchī was called the '*Prāchī Mādhava*'. The temple of this excellently carved image is now gone out of existence, so it is now kept in the Jagamohana of the Amareśvara temple. On the branch of the Prāchī called the Lalita, there was another Mādhava called '*Lalita-Mādhava*'. From the clearance of debris round the Chandi temple in the village Kenduli, the birth place of the poet have been recovered three small Viṣṇu images, which

are now preserved there.

A close study of the monuments now existing on the bank of the Māhanadī and the Prāchī, a branch of the Mahānadī clearly indicates the building of Śiva and Viṣṇu temples popularly known as Mādhava, side by side at least from the beginning of the nineth century. The chief among them are two Nīlamādhava temples of Gandharādi and Kantilo on the bank of Māhanadī, two Mādhavānanda temples, Prāchī Mādhava, Lalita Mādhava Trivenī Mādhava, Mudgala Mādhava in the Prachī valley which can be assigned to the pre-Jayadeva period. The 'Maṅgalāṣtaka' recited at the time of performance of all auspecious functions in Orissa province is given to Mādhava. [1]

JAYADEVA, A DEVOTEE OF RĀDHĀ-MĀDHAVA

The worship of Mādhava performed daily with deep devotion and reverence in the many temples which were standing in all their glory and magnificence in the Prāchī valley around his village Kenduvilva Śāsana before his days, made a deep impression in his mind and inspired him to identify Kṛṣṇa, the God of his devotion with Mādhava the popular form of Viṣṇu in those days. So his Kṛṣṇa has been called

1. मङ्गलो भगवान् विष्णु मङ्गलो मधुसूदनः
मङ्गलः पुण्डरीकाक्षो मङ्गलो गरुडध्वजः ॥

माधवो माधवो विष्णुर्माधवो माधवो हरिः ।
स्मरन्ति साधवो नित्यं सर्वकार्येषु माधवम् ॥
(पुरोहितसर्वस्वम्—प्रथमखण्डम्—१६४१, पृ-१७६)

Mâdhava in most of the places of the Gītagovinda which begins with the benediction of Rādhā Mādhava.[1]

PADMĀ AND RĀDHĀ

'Jaya Jaya Deva Hare' stotra of the Gītagovinda, at once brings to one's mind the excellent image of Lakṣhmī Nārāyaṇa (4' 11"×2' 6") in the village Chaurasi [2] on the Prāchī river which might have been the source of inspiration of the poet for singing 'Śrita Kamalākuchamaṇḍala···kalitalalitavana māla Jaya Jaya Deva Hare'. Here the poet honours the popular sentiment by omitting all reference to Rādhā but mentioning Kamalā or Lakṣmī widely worshipped in that age in this stotra.

In the next verse 'Padmā-payodharataṭī-parirambha-lagna' prominence is given to Padmā or Lakṣmī, the consort of Madhusūdana. After this verse Rādhā is brought to the fore front as the most beloved of ŚrīKṛṣṇa who is presented in his aiśvariya aspect.

JAYADEVA AND JAGANNĀTHA

All traditions current about Jayadeva are unanimous

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1. Gitagovinda—I-I.

2. The lower left hand of Narayana wearing a Champaka garland is placed on the breast of Laksmi, sitting to the left on the lap of Narayana.

about the association of the saintly poet with the temple of Jagannātha at Puri. Chandra Dutta in his famous Bhaktamālā definitely states that Jayadeva composed his Gītagovinda in the temple of Jagannātha, which he used to sing with deep devotion with his wife before the lord. [1]

This account may be taken as authentic and in ancient times the custom of composing literary work in temples was widely prevalent. According to tradition Bhagavan Sankara spontaneously recited all his stotras and aṣṭakas before the deities he visited for offering worship which were noted by his disciples.

The immortal work 'Periapuranam' puranam by Sekkilar was written and expounded by him in the Chidambaram temple. The famous commentator Srīdhara Svāmī of Orissa wrote his 'Bhāvārthadīpīkātīkā', on ŚrimadBhagavata in the Śikhareśvara temple on the Kapilāsa hill where he stayed for a long time. Viṣṇupuri wrote his 'Haribhakti Ratnāvalī' in a Vaṣṇu temple of Kāśi. Sāraḷā Dāsa wrote his voluminous Mahābhārata in Oriya in the Śaraḷā temple (1440 A. D.) and Bhāgavata the most popular work in Oriya was written by the saintly poet Jagannātha Dāsa. in the compound of the Jagannātha temple at Puri in 1504 A. D. So instances to support this tradition need not be multiplied. The tradition of the composition of the Gītagovinda in the Jagannātha temple is supported indirectly by the famous and most popular 'Daśāvat-

1. Proceedings of all India Oriental Conference, 18th. Session, Annrmalainagar, 1955 P. 6.

āra' where Jagannātha for whose propitiation this work was written has been invoked as 'Jagadiśa, Hari'.

In the Samgrahadīpikā commentary the authorship of which is not known the word Jagadīśa has been interpreted as Jagannātha.[1] In this hymn Keśava, Jagadīśa and Harihara all have proclaimed in the manifestation of ŚriKṛṣṇa, the God of his devotion, who was the veritable supreme deity and the originator of the ten incarnations 'Daśākṛtikṛt.'

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NAME OF THE WORK

The name Govinda had attained great popularity by the time of Jayadeva in the Hindu society due to wide circulation of the Govindaṣṭaka, śatpadī stotra, and Bhajagovindastotra composed by the great poet and philosopher Sri Śaṅkarāchārya whose tutelary deity was Śri Kṛṣṇa.[2] The glory and glamour of the name of Govinda inspired the poet to choose it for the name of his immortal work which was meant to be sung before his tutelary deity Jagadīśa or Jagannātha.

RECITATION OF THE GITAGOVINDA

It is known from the South Indian inscriptions that the custom of granting land for recitation of sacred hymns permanently in the temples were prevalent in the Tamil country before the establishment of Ganga rule over Utkala in (1118-A. D.)

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1. A Descriptive cat, of Sanskrit Manuscript No. 11965 Govt. Oriental Manuscripts library, Madras. Vol. XX, 1918.

2. Samkara and Vaishnavism by Sri Ram Chandra Shastri, Proceedings of A, I, O, C, 18th session P. 499.

Kulottunga Chola made provision for recital of the sacred hymns of Kulaśekhara one of the famous Vaiṣṇava Saints in the Raṅganātha temple of SriRaṅgam. Gift of land, free of taxes was made in the 30th. year of Kulatunga Chola Deva (1070-1120 A. D.) for recitation of *Tiruppadiyam.* An inscription of the 4th. year of Rājendra Chola (1012-1044 A. D.) registers gift of land for recitation of Tiruputte hymns.[1]

Following the custom, of the Tamil country some Ganga Emperor of Utkala, after Cholaganga Deva, introduced the recitation of the sweet, simple, fascinating and melodious songs of the Gītagovinda before the Lord Jagnnātha as a daily sevā of the deity. The period alloted for such recitation was 'Sakāḷa dhūpa' or morning meal, the time of 'Dvipraharadhūpa' or mid-day meal and 'Pahaḍa' or before the deity went to bed at night dressed as a Śṛṅgāri or lover called 'Vaḍaśṛṅgāraveśa.' But there is difference of opinion regarding the time of its introduction. Some are of the opinion that it was done by Rājarāja Deva. II (1170-1190 A. D.) who was a contemporary of the poet while others following Mādalāpañji, take Narasimha Deva II (1278-1307 A. D.) as responsible for it. But the first view seems acceptable as Sri Jayadeva was given a place in the town of Puri for his residence and was engaged as a sevaka of the deity for singing of his songs.

Attempt was made by some ruler whose name is not definitely known to introduce the recitation of songs from his work composed in imitation of the Gītagovinda but it was

1. Ibid-P—286,

not crowned with success as it was discarded by the Lord. In order to put a stop to this Gajapati Pratāprudra Deva, who was a devout Vaiṣṇava issued a royal proclamation inscribed on a slab on the Jayavijaya dvāra on the 10th. day of the month of Kakaḍā in his 4th. Anka year, which corresponds to the 8th. July 1500 A. D. [1]

ŚĀDHUPRADHĀNA JAYADEVA

An inscription on the Lingarāja temple of Bhubaneswar of the reign of the Ganga monarch Rāghava Deva (1158-1170 A. D.) mentions Sādhupradhāna Jayadeva who was then residing at Kūrma pātakapura or SriKūrmaṃ in Kalinga and came to Bhubaneswar as a guide of Kommi Nāyaka an important officer under the Ganga, Emperor who granted a village for meeting the expenses of burning the 'Akhandadīpa' in the temple of Lingarāja. Pandit Sri S. N. Rajguru who

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1. "वीर श्रीगजपति गौडेश्वर कर्णाटकलवर्गेश्वर वीरवर प्रताप श्रीरुद्रदेव महाराजाङ्क समस्त अङ्क स्राहि कर्कटमास ८° दिन वुधवार अवधान अङ्कप्रमाणे वडठाकुरङ्क गीतगोविन्द ठाकुरङ्क भोगवेले ए नाट होइव, वड ठाकुरङ्क शयनवेले कपिलेश्वरठाकुरङ्क खिला (खङ्गिला) नाचनागान पुवना (पुराण) (सम्पदा) (सरिले) तेलेङ्गी सम्पदा, एमाने सवु वड ठाकुरङ्क गीतगोविन्द हवार गीत वि शिखिवे आन गीत मानङ्क न गाइवे । आन नाट होइ परमेश्वरङ्क छामुरे न होइव, दुरान × ‹इव ए व्यतिरेके वैरागी उन पश्चाश जन अछन्ति । एमाने गीतगोविन्द गीत ही से गाइवे एहाङ्कर ठारु अशिक्षितमाने एक स्वररे गुणि गीतगोविन्द गीतइ शिखिवे, आन गीत से न शिखिवे, एहा ये परिछा आचरिवे नाहिं आन गीत नाट कराइवे से जगन्नाथङ्क द्रोह करिवे ।"

(Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. II, Appendix P. 105)

first edited this inscription in the 'Orissa Historical Research journal' suggested the identification of this 'Sādhu Pradhāna Jayadeva', with the saintly Poet ŚrīJayadeva, author of the Gītagovinda. [1]

Though some letters in the first line after 'Svastiśrī Rāghava Devasya pravardhamāna' are lost Sri Rajguru assigns this record to the nineth Anka year of the Ganga emperor Rāghava Deva which was current in 1162 A D. This is quite plausible as the second inscription of the nineth Anka year of his reign is incised on the same stone and appears like a continuation of the first one. A glance at both the inscriptions indicates that the second inscription was written after the first had been incised.

The second records the grant of land for burning the 'Akhandadipa' before Lord Lingaraja by 'Archana Pradhāna' another officer under Rāghava Deva. This gives 1162 A. D. as a definite date in the life of 'Sādhu Pradhāna Jayadeva' who was no other than the great Sādhu Jayadeva as will be shown below.

A question may be asked why did ŚrīJayadeva stay at Kūrmapātakapura ? The answer is very simple. Śrī Kūrmam came to prominence as a notable centre of vaishnava faith and movement in the Kalinga country from the beginning of the twelfth century. The earliest inscriotion found in this temple recording the gift of 'Akhandadīpa'

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1. (a) O. H, R. J. vol V, No 4, P. 179-182.

(b) Inscriptions of Orissa, vol. III, part II P—294.

to Śrī Kūrmarātha Deva was incised in the 38th Anka year of Cholaganga Deva, the first Ganga emperor of Orissa in the Saka year 1035 or 1113 A. D. There are nine more inscriptions of the reign of Cholaganga Deva, five inscriptions of the time of Kamārnava Deva, four of the time of Rāghava Deva, and two of the reign of Rājarāja Deva-1 in the Śrī Kūrma temple which clearly indicates the importance of Śrī Kūrmakṣetra in the twelfth century.[1]

So it was quite natural for a famous Vaiṣṇava saint Śrī Jayadeva, a follower of sage Nimbarka of the Andhra country to stay for some time in this centre of Vaiṣṇavism during the course of his return journey from the south to Bhubaneswar in his native kingdom.

Kommi Nāyaka, who donated a village for burning the 'Akhandadīpa' in the Lingaraja temple in 1162 A. D. with the consent of 'Sadhu Pradhāna Jayadeva' was an important officer of Kalinga in the twelfth century. He is also mentioned as in two other inscriptions in the Mukhalinga temple of the Saka year 1033 or 1111 A. D. and Saka year 1049 or 1128 A. D. [2] recording his donations for the burning of 'Akhandadīpa' in the temple of 'Madhukeśvara'.

Dr. D. C. Sircar who re-edited these two inscriptions of Rāghava Deva [3] interpreted the term 'Sādhu Pradhāna'

1, Inscriptions of Orissa, Rajguru, vol, III. Part I and II.

2. Inscription of Orissa vol. III, Pt. I, P. 60, 109.

3. E. I, vol. XXX, 1953-54. P. 159.

as a great merchant taking the word as the Sanskrit from the Oriya word 'Sahu' or merchant. With due respect to Dr. Sircar, it can be asserted that this interpretation is not acceptable. An important officer of South Orissa with about 50 years standing under powerful Ganga sovereigns must have been too rich to bring a 'Sāhukāra' with him evidently for getting money for purchasing a village to ensure the continuity of his gift of 'Akhandadīpa' before Lord Lingaraja. This is inconceivable as this officer was rich enough to grant two 'Akhandadīpa' before God Muktesvara of Mukhalingam as stated before. It is quite probable that Kommi Nāyak brought Sādhu Pradhāna Jayadeva with him to Bhubaneswar, as the latter being an inhabitant of this area would prove very helpful to his patron for some days, who must have been about seventy or more, when he made this gift in the Lingaraja temple.

Another valuable evidence regarding the date of Jayadeva is furnished by an one-line inscription discovered on a lintel which was originally placed on the entrance to the 'garbhagṛha' of the very old Chandī temple made of bricks in the village Kenduli, but subsequently fell down and was buried under debris which was cleaned by this State Archaealogy in 1964. This can clearly be read as 'Jaya jaya deva hare 1112'. The genuineness of this short commemorative inscription cannot be doubted because paleographically the letters can be assigned to the twelfth century. The figures at the end may be taken as the year in the Saka era[1] which became current throughout Orissa from the end of the eleventh century, as is evident by

its use in the valuable astronomical treatise, 'Bhāsvatī' written by Śrī Śatananda, Āchārya an India-famous astronomer of SriPuruṣottamakṣetra, Puri.[1] In that case the corresponding year in the Christian era is 1190 A. D., which was the last year of the reign of the Ganga king Rājrāja Deva (1170-1190 A. D.)

'Jaya jaya deva hare' is repeated in every couplet of the famous song of the Gītagovinda which begins with 'Śrītakamalākuchamandala dhṛtakundala kalita lalita vanamāla Jaya jaya deva hare.'

This song is very popular like the 'Daśāvatārastuti' of this work which used to be sung by the students of the 'Chatsśālis' or village schools of Orissa in olden days.

The discovery of this short-dated inscription, has got great historical significance, as it fixes the posterior limit for Śri Gītagovinda at 1190 A. D. Secondly incision of this popular pada containing both the words Jayadeva and Hari, the God of his devotion, in very old brick temple of this particular Kenduli village and no where else in Orissa or India may be taken as a reminiscent of the birth and living of the poet near about this ancient monument which then proudly stood on the South bank of the river Prāchī.

From the discussion made above, there cannot be any

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1. O, H, R, J, vol. V No. 3 P. 183-189,

valid ground for objection if ŚrīJayadeva, author of the Gītagovinda is assigned to the second half of the 12th century A. D.

ŚRĪJAYADEVA WAS NOT A COURT POET

The five poets Umāpatidhara, Jayadeva, Śaraṇa, Govardhana Āchārya and Dhoyī mentioned in the Gītagovinda[1] have been accepted by most of the scholars who have written on the History of Sanskrit Literature, as the natives of Bengal and adorning the court of king Lakṣmaṇa-Sena. This verse is called 'Kṣepaka' or interpolated by Rāṇā Kumbha in his 'Rasikapriyā' commentary. The author of the 'Samgraha Dīpikā' commentary does not interprete this verse at all. Inspite of this it may be accepted as genuine as its interpretation is found in most of the commentaries so far noticed, This verse only gives an estimate of Kavirāja Jayadeva about four other poets who might at best be taken as his elder contemporaries, but it does not imply either directly or indirectly that all the five poets referred to in it belonged to Bengal and adorned the court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. Following the tradition set by some of his famous predecessors, ŚrīJayadeva has proudly spoken of his poetic genius as will be evident from the following discussion.

POETIC TRADITION

Ravikīrti, the author of the famous Aihole inscription

1, Gitagovinda—1-4

of Pulakesin II speaks in the 57 th stanza of the praśasti that he as a poet was famous like Kalidasa and Bharavi.[1] Bānabhatta in the introduction to his 'Harṣacharita' after giving his own estimate about previous works and eminent authors speaks of his own achievements.[2] Dandi in his 'Avantisundarikathā' speaks of Pravarasena and Bhatta Nārāyan, Rajasekhara, a well-known court-poet of kings Mahendra Pāla and Mahipāla of Kanauja has compared himself with Valmiki, and others in a verse of his BālaRāmāyaṇa.[3] Similarly Kavirāja Sūri, a court poet of Kāmadeva II (1182-87), a chief of the Kādamba family of Jayantipur on Vanavasi, proclaims himself in one of the introductory verses as equal with Subandhu and Bāṇabhatta. In the like manner Govardhana Āchārya respectfully refers to some eminent poets like the authors of the Rāmāyaṇa (Vālmiki) the Bhārata (Vyāsa) and Bṛhatkathā (Guṇādhya), Kālidasa, Bhavabhuti, Bāṇabhatta, his father Nīlāmbara and Pravarasena, the author of Setubandha-kāvya and his two younger brothers Udayana and Balabhadra in his work Āryāsaptaśatī[4]. So ŚrīJayadeva has followed the poetic tradition while speaking about four other notable poets of his age as will be evident from the following explanation made by Kaviraja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa in his 'Sarvāṅgasundarī Tīkā.'

1, Epigraphia Indica vol. VI. P-7,

2. Harshacharita—1-9,

3. History of Sanskrit poeties—Dr. P. V. Kane, P—203,

4. Aryasaptasati—OSM—Mss. No. L. 665. Verses—30-39,

Poet Umāpatidhara, a minister for peace and war can no doubt make the words sprout, i. e. he is proficient in the use of words is only superficial and not deep. Śaraṇa is praiseworthy only in quick and difficult compositions but in nothing else. Āchārya Govardhana is unrivalled in the composition of faultless erotic verses, but he has no mastery in other 'Rasas' except Sṛṅgāra. Kavirāja Dhoyī, can remember what he hears once, which implies that he has strong memory and imitativeness, but lacks in originality. But Jayadeva alone had profound mastery over the use of words and had originality and spontaneity.[1] So it is clear that ŚrīJayadeva makes disparaging remarks about four estimable poets of his age while apparently describing the particular literary quality of each of them.

On the wrong interpretation of this significant verse a wrong theory has been started that all the five poets mentioned in it belonged to the court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena of Bengal which has been unquestionably accepted by many scholars. But 'Sarvāṅgasundarī Tīkā' clearly proves that Jayadeva has only established his superiority over four other contemporary poets, and says nothing about his association with any royal court. Rāṇā Kumbha in his 'Rasikapriya Tīkā' also explains this verse as praising of the poet by himself. Mahamahopadhyaya Samkara Miśra in his 'Rasamanjarī Tīkā' explains this verse vividly and convincingly[2]

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1. Gitagovind Text—P-16-17

2, Gitagovinda—N S. P. Edition—Page-9-10.

The explanations given by Chaitanya Dāsa of Bengal whose 'Bālbodhinī' commentary had the widest circulation, is worth mentioning. Though the commentator was a famous Bengali vaiṣṇava, he has not associated the five poets with the royal court of Bengal while interpreting the verse.[1] but has given its correct meaning like Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, and Mm Śamkara Miśra. Now the association of each poet with the court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena may be examined with the evidence elicited from other sources.

UMĀPATIDHARA—

The last but one verse of the Deopara inscription of Vijaya Sena states that its author was Umāpatidhara, who can be identified with the poet of the same name mentioned in the Gītagovinda.[2] The date of this inscription which mentions the defeat of Rāghava Deva, the Ganga king of Orissa (1156-1170 A. D.) by Vijaya Sena, who died in 1158 A. D. may be fixed between 1156 to 1158 A. D. Four verses from this inscription (No 7, 23, 24 and 30) are found quoted in the 'Saduktikarnamṛtam' (SKM) of Śrīdhara Dāsa composed under the patronage of Lakṣmaṇa Sena.[3]

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1. Gitagovinda – Edited in Bengli character by
Sri H. K. Mukherjee PP, 6-7,

2. निर्णिक्तसेनकुलभूपतिमैक्तिकानामग्रन्थिलप्रथनपक्ष्मलसूत्रवल्लिः ।
एषा कवेः पदपदार्थविचारशुद्धबुद्धेरुमापतिधरस्य कृतिः प्रशस्तिः ॥
(Inscriptions of Bengal vol III, P. 49.)

3. Bengal's contribution to Sanskrit literature—Dr. S. K. De, P—76

Again verse 4 of the Madhainagar copper plates of Lakṣmaṇa Sena almost exactly corresponds to a verse ascribed to Umāpatidhara in the SKM. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the poet lived not only in the court of Vijaya Sena but in that of his son and grandson.[1]

This seems possible in view of the fact that the period of interval between Vijaya Sena and Lakṣmaṇa Sena was only 21 years (1158-1179 A.D.). It is also supported by literary evidence as Mm. Samkara Misra in his commentary identifies Umāpatidhara as the minister of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. Merutunga Āchārya narrates the story of Lakṣmaṇa Sena and his minister Umapatidhara i. e. 'Then in the country of Gauda in the city of Lakṣaṇāvatī, a king of the name of Lakṣmaṇa Sena ruled for a long time and his kingdom was administered by the minister Umapati Dhara, who was a treasure house of all intelligence.'[2]

SARANA :-

No work of Śaraṇa mentioned by Jayadeva has yet been found. There are two verses in the name of Sarana quoted in the SKM. In a verse Śaraṇa is found eulogising a Sena king without mentioning his name and in other verse he is found deprecating the rulers of Gauda, Kalinga, Chedi, Mlechha, Kāmarupa, Kāśi, Magadha, but the name of the patron is

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1. J, P, A, S. Bengal vol. II No 5, 1906—P-100-160

2. Prabandhachintamani—English translation by Tawney, Asiatic society, Bengal.

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GOVARDHANA ĀCHĀRYA :

On the basis of wrong interpretation of a verse[1] of his 'Āryāsaptaśatī' Govardhana Āchārya has been taken as a court poet of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. The term 'Senakulatilakabhupati' mentioned in the verse does not allude to Lakṣmaṇa Sena who was never reputed as a scholar or a poet. But this term taken with 'Kumudavanabandho' contain veiled reference to Pravara Sena, who was renowned for his Prākṛtakāvya Setubandha or 'Rāvaṇavaho.' This is highly praised by Sanskrit poets and rhetoricians. Dandin, the famous author of the Kāvyādarśa, calls it a mine of gems in the form of good sayings. Bāṇa in the introduction of his Harśa-charita' says that by means of setu 'Setubandhakāvya' the fame of Pravara Sena crossed the ocean as the army of monkeys had done before, by means of the 'Setu' bridge.[2] Kumuda was a commander in the army of monkeys, here

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1. सकलकलाकलयितुं प्रभुः प्रबन्धस्य तातं कुमुदवनबन्धोः ।
सेनकुलतिलकभूपतिरेको राकाप्रदोषश्च ॥

(OSM-Mss. No. L, 665, Verse-39)

2. कीर्त्तिप्रबरसेनस्य प्रयाणकुमुदोज्वला ।
सागरस्य परं पारं कपिसेनेव सेतुना ॥ हर्षचरित—14

the word 'Kumuda' means both lily and the monkey leader. Similarly Govardhana has used 'Kumudavanabandho' while speaking of Pravara Sena the famous author of 'Setubandha-kāvya.' So it is ridiculous to jump to the hasty conclusion that king Lakṣmaṇa Sena is alluded to by the term 'Senakulatilaka' of the verse of Aryā Saptaśati.

Āchārya Govardhana was not a court poet of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. This is proved by the fact that none of the stanzas of his famous 'Āryāsapatśatī' is quoted in the S: K. M. A poet Govardhana is quoted six times but these verses cannot be traced in the 'Aryāsaptaśatī [1] This omission is significant, which clearly indicates that his work was not known to Śrīdhara Dāsa and as such he did not adorn the court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. This is further corroborated by the fact that a verse of Aryāsaptaśatī has been quoted by Arjunavarma Deva, a king of Mālava (1211-1215 A. D.) in his commentary on Amaruśatakam. [2] written only 6 years after of S. K. M. compiled in 1205 A. D. The omission of any verse of 'Aryāsaptaśatī' which had become well known in far off Mālava by 1211 A. D. convincingly disproves the theory of the connection of its author with the court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

Govardhana speaks eloquently about the scholarship and poetic talent of his two younger brothers Udayana and

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1. History of Bengal, Published by the Dacca University, P-307.

2. Proceedings of the Indian History congress sixth session, Aligarh 1943, P-171.

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Balabhadra, who helped him in improving the composition of his Aryāsaptśati, In the last verse of the work.[1] there is convincing contemporary epigraphic evidence to show that poet Udayana Āchārya, the younger brother of Govardhana belonged to Orissa and was connected with the ruling Ganga family of this State. Uptill now two stone inscriptions composed by Udayana Āchārya have been discovered and published. Of these, one is still to be seen in the temple of Śobhaneśvara in the village Niāli on the river Prāchī flowing on the Northen boundary of the Puri district. From one of the verses of this inscription it is known that this eulogy was written by poet Udayana.[2] He was living in the court of a Brāhmana Chieftain named Vaidyanātha, who was a vassal of the Ganga sovereign of Orissa. The date of the inscription is circa 1180 A. D.

The second stone inscription composed by Udayana was originally fixed in the temple of Megheśvara in the temple-city Bhubaneswar for which it was meant. But in the last quarter of the last century it was fixed by mistake on the compound wall of the Ananta Vasudeva temple of Bhubaneswar by some officer of the Government of India, where it is still to be seen.[3] This inscription

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1. उदयन बलभद्राभ्यां सप्तशतीशिष्यसोदराभ्यां नः।
द्यौरिव रविचन्द्राभ्यां प्रकाशिता निर्मलीकृत्य ॥
इति कविपण्डितगोवर्द्धनाचार्यकृता सप्तशती समाप्ता ।
(OSM-Mss. No. L. 665)

2. J. B. O. R. S, vol, XVII, 1931, PP, 119-135,

3. J. A. S. Bengal, vol.LXVI, 1897, P, P. 18-24.

informs us that the poet was being patronised by another vassal chieftain named Svapneśvara Deva, who was connected with the ruling Ganga family by matrimonial alliance, as his sister Suramā Devi was married to king Rājarāja Deva-II (1170-1990). So while singing the praise of his patron, the poet has also eulogised his brother-in-law, Rājarāja and his younger brother Aniyankabhima II (1190—1198 A. D) who ruled after him. The analysis of this inscription shows that there are only five verses (2-6) describing Svapneśvara and his family, whereas the achievements of the Ganga kings, Cholaganga Deva, Rājarāja Deva and Aniyankabhima Deva are narrated in eleven verses (7-17), which indicate that poet Udayana tried to please Aniyankabhima Deva, the overlord of his patron whose favour he was either getting or seeking to get. In this inscription we also find the eulogy of one Viṣṇu Āchārya the spiritual guide of Svapneṣvara Deva, who has been compared with god Viṣṇu, and was given a village near the Brahmeśvara temple. From another verse it is known that Udayana composed the 'Megheśvara Praśasti' at the behest of this Viṣṇu Āchārya who belonged to the family of Nilāmbara Āchārya. [1]

Udayana, unknown to Sridhara Dāsa, the author of

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1. उदयनकविस्तस्यादेशात्प्रशस्तिविलासिनी
सुललितपदव्यासैः शश्वद्विदग्धमनोहराम्।
ध्वनिभिरनिशं कण्ठे श्लिष्टममन्दकृतिहारिणी-
मतिरसतया शय्यायातां प्रसाधितवानिमाम्॥

(History of Bengal—Dacca University—P-366)

S. K. M. had nothing to do with Lakṣmaṇa Sena of Bengal. He lived in Orissa in the courts of two local chieftains under the Ganga kings Rājarāja Deva II (1170—1190 A. D) and Aniyankalhima II (1190--1198 A. D.)

DHOYĪ—

There is definite literary evidence to prove that poet Dhoyī was patronised by the king Lakṣmaṇa Sena and wrote his 'Pavanadūta' in his honour.[1] The verse 101 of the same work informs us that the poet Dhoyika was honoured by the king of Gauda.[2] On the strength of the Pavanadūta, Dhoyī alone can be defintely ascertained as a court poet of Lakṣmaṇa Sena whereas there is no such direct contemporary literary evidence regarding other poets as mentioned in the Gītagovinda. In view of the disparging remarks made by the poet Jayadeva especially about Umāpatidhara and Dhoyī of the court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, it is inconceivable to take him as a court poet of Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

SO-CALLED INSCRIPTION AT NADIĀ :

The genuineness of a verse, quoted below, generally cited by the scholar to establish the connection of Jayadeva with the court of king Lakṣmaṇa Sena—

गोवर्द्धनश्च शरणो जयदेव उमापतिः ।
कविराजश्च रत्नानि समितौ लक्ष्मणस्य च[3] ॥

1. Pavanaduta—JASB, Vol. I, 1905, P-41-71.

2, Ibid, Verse—101.

3. वीरभूमविवरण– पृ १६६ ।

It is said that the verse was seen by Sri Rupagosvami and SriSanatana Gosvami inscribed on the entrance of of king Lakṣmaṇa Sena's Assembly hall in Nabadvipa. The verse written in very poor Sanskrit is a spurious one like the fomous traditional verse cited describing the nine gems of the court of Vikramaditya. Regarding the existence of the capital of the Sena kings at Nadia, it is written thus—

'It is a note-worthy fact that the two known grants of Vijaya Sena and Vallala Sena and all the five grants of Lakṣmaṇa Sena dated within the first six years of his reign were issued from the royal camp at Vikramapura. It was again in this city that the chief queen of Vijaya Sena performed the elaborate Tulāpuruṣa mahādāna. It is to be noted however that two later grants of Lakṣmaṇa Sena and those of his successors were issued not from Bikramapura but respectively from Dharya grama and Phalgu grama, none of which can be identified.[1]

So there is no contemporary epigraphic evidence to prove the existence of the capital of Lakṣmaṇa Sena at Navadvipa. Similarly in no Sanskrit work written during the Sena period Nadiā is mentioned as the capital of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. In the 'Pavanadūtam' of Dhoyī 'Vijayapura' on the Gangā is referred to as his capital. Its identification with Nadiā may only be presumed but cannot be definitely proved. Only in Tabaquat i-Nasiri written in 1260 A. D. after

1. History of Bengal—Dacca University, P-251,

about sixty years of the death of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, Nadiā is described as the seat of his Government. But the account given in 'Nasiri' is not fully reliable as it is based on heresy testimony. It narrates fanciful stories about the birth of Lakṣmaṇa Sena (P. 555) and invasion of Nadia (P 557). It gives a reign of 80 years to this king which is disproved by contemporary epigraphic records. Supposing this account is accepted as true, its version regarding the destruction of Nadiā noted below should also be accepted.

'After Muhammadia-Bakhtyar possessed himself of that territory (Rae Lakshmania's) he left the city of Nadia in desolution (P. 559) In the foot-note of the same page it is further written Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar destroyed Nudiah and leaving it in desolution passed onwards.'[1] So it can be asserted without any contradiction that the entrance of the Assembly hall of Lakṣmaṇa Sena could not exist up to the time of ŚriRupa and ŚrīSanatana after its total destruction nearly three hundred years ago by the Muslim army. The ruins of the place must have been hidden under dense vegetation as it is the case with all the ruined monuments in India. These two great Gosvamis also do not mention anything about this so called inscription in their works noticed so far.

From the critical study of all the facts it becomes clear and convincing that the verse under discussion was composed

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2. Tabaqat-i-Nasir-translated by Raverty, Pages—550-557.

on the basis of the verse 'Vāchaḥ pallavayati' of the Gītagovinda by some Pandit like the famous traditional verse associating Kalidasa and others with the court of the king Vikrama[1] to prove that all the five poets mentioned in it belonged to the court of Lakṣmṇa Sena in the post Chaitanya period when the Gītagovinda became very popular among the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal. The names of these two learned Gosvāmis were cleverly associated with the discovery of this so-called verse in Nabadvipa in order to give it an air of antiquity and gain the confidence of the people. So the story of seeing this inscription on the entrance of Lakṣmaṇa Sena's assembly hall at Nadia is simply imaginary and as such unacceptable.

GENESIS OF THE VERSE

Now the question is 'how did Jayadeva know the merits and demerits of some contemporary poets? The answer is : in ancient times poets had to prove their worth in the gathering of scholars. Kālidāsa was examined in Ujjain. Upavarsa, Panini, Vararuchi, Patanjali and others were tested in Pataliputra.'[2] The merit of the Naiṣadhiyacharita of ŚrīHarṣa was examined by some Pandits of Kasmir. Following this tradition the eminent poets of

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1. धन्वन्तरिक्षपणाकामरसिंहशङ्कुवेतालभट्टघटकर्परकालिदासाः ।
ख्यातो वराहमिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य ॥
(शब्दकल्पद्रुम – भा २, पृ-११३)

2, A history of Sanskrit literature—Dr. D, Varadachari, P-182.

Bengal like Umāpati Dhara, Saraṇa and Dhoyī and the Orissan poet Govardhana Āchārya had to prove their worth in the assembly of Pandits held in ŚrīPuruṣottama Kṣetra or Puri most probably by the powerful Ganga Sovereign Rāja Rāja Deva II (1170-1193 A. D) of Utkala who was a contemporary of Lakṣmaṇa Sena (1179-1200 A. D.). According to Keśava Miśra, the saintly poet Jayadeva was patronised by the Ganga Emp rors of Utkala. [1] The Pandita Kavi Jayadeva mentioned in the verse of 'Alaṅkāra Śekhara' can be identified with Jayadeva who also takes pride in calling himself as such in a verse of his Gītagovinda. [2] Govardhana, author of the said verse was most probably the author of 'Aryāsaptaśati' spoken of by Jayadeva.

In this connection the opinion of Dr. De may be quoted here. 'The opinions of a writer called Govardhana are frequently cited by Keśava (pp. 17, 29. 37, 43, 49). There is also reference to Jayadeva Pandita kavi (p. 17) in the court of an Utkala king. If this person is identical with the poet Jayadeva who also calls himself Jayadeva Pandita kavi in his Gītagovinda, then it is likely that Govardhana, who is immediately quoted before this reference to Jayadeva, may be the poet of that name, who was Jayadeva's contemporary referred to in the beginning of the Gītagovinda'. [3]

1. Alankara Sekhara—Chawkhamba, 1927, P-18.
2. Gitagovinda—XII—8.
3. History of Sanskrit poeties—P-220,

This verse of his contemporary Govardhana states definitely that kavi Pandit Jayadeva was the greatest of the poets that adorned the court of the king of Utkal. In the light of this authentic information, the circumstances that led Jayadeva to make disparaging remarks about four other poets of his age can be satisfactorily explained

Jayadeva has sarcastically called Dhoyī as 'Kavikṣmāpati' perhaps after reading his kāvya 'Pavanadūtam' where its author Dhoyika or Dhoyī proudly speaks himself as 'Kavikṣmābhṛtām chakravarty (verse 101),' So also he has used the adjective 'Śrutidhara' before Dhoyī to indicate his lack of originality and spontaneity as a poet. The 'Pallavagrāhi pāndityam' of Umāpatidhara has been deprecated by the expression 'Vācha Pallavayati.' Even Āchārya Govardhana of Puri who was just like his elder brother has not been spared. After the study of his 'Āryāsaptaśatī' he has remarked that the Āchārya was only proficient in erotic compositions and nothing else. In his opinion the poetry of Śaraṇa was 'kliṣta' and as such could not be appreciated by the scholars.

WRONG INTERPRETATION

The origin of the story of Jayadeva's association with Lakṣmaṇa Sena can be traced in wrong interpretation of his verse 'Vācha pallavayati' itself. Umāpati Dhara, mentioned in the first part and Kavirāja Dhoyī in the last part of this verse being well known as the poets of the court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena in that age, it was unquestionably assumed in the

later years that all the five poets referred to it, belonged to his court. But almost all the commentators of the Gītagovinda except Rāṇā Kumbha, do not speak anything about the association of the said five poets with the court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. Some commentators like Saṃkara Miśra, Banamālī Bhatta, Bhāgavat Dāsa, have stated that Umāpati Dhara was a minister of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. Mānāṅka has alluded to Lakṣmaṇa Sena in a vague manner after speaking Dhoyī, on the basis of the information that Umāpati Dhara and Dhoyī belonged to the court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. Rānā Kumbha wrongly assumed that there were living six poets (he was wrongly taken the word Śrutidhara as the name of a poet) in his court. So this evidence based on wrong assumption should not be taken as authentic.

VERSE OF SADUKTIKARNĀMṚTA

The second proof which is generally put-forth to establish the connection of Jayadeva, author of the Gītagovinda with the court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena is a verse by one Jayadeva quoted in the SKM. The translation of this verse as given by Dr. Sukumar Sen, is cited as follows, 'Oh' you playful lover of Lakṣmī : Oh you walking Harī : Oh, you all giving true of wish : Oh you, whose company brings success, Oh you beloved of (the people) Vanga Oh king of Gauda ! Oh you the ornament in the assembly of viceroys and kings ! Oh you who have put to prison

the hostile kings! Oh you the cherisher of good people! you are (now) seen and we are happy'[1].

In this verse the name of family of the king of Bengal eulogised by Jayadeva is not given. So identification of this king with Lakṣmaṇa Sena is untenable. Moreover it will be doing injustice to the great saintly poet Jayadeva who was only singing the glory of ŚrīKṛṣṇa[2] to say that he was flattering any king in such magnifying terms. This poet Jayadeva may be indentified with the earlier Jayadeva, two of whose verses are found quoted in the 'Subhasitaratnakośa' compiled by one Vidyakara (C 1150 A. D), the second of which is also eulogistic in nature.[3] In none of the verses attributed to ŚrīJayadeva by Srīdhara Dāsa there is any indication of his association with the court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena or any other king.

The Jaina writer Merutunga Āchārya in his 'Prabandha chintāmani' speaks of one pandita Jayadeva, while describing the munificence of the Jaina minister Vastupāla during the period of his pilgrimage to different holy places. He gave eight thousand by way of reward to poet Someśvara Deva for composition of a stanza. Then came the turn of Pandita Jayadeva. The three learned quarters of a couplet were being read :—Karna gave his skin, Sibi

1, Saduktikarnamrta—Verse-1425, P-385.

2, Gitagovinda—XII-8.

3. Suphasitaratnakosa – Ed, D. D, Kausambi and V. V. Gokhale.

From the story narrated in the sixteenth Chapter of the same work it is known that on the occasion of the Chitrāvalī festival the king with queen Vallabhā Halāyudha Miśra, Jayadeva Miśra each with his wife went to have a bath in the Gangā. The merchant's daughter-in-law Mādhavī with her husband came to bath, Mādhavī decorating herself with the bracelets and the merchant wearing the two ear-rings.

× × × × × × The queen assaulted Mādhavī and snatched away the bangles from her wrists and by her order the two ear-rings were taken away from the merchant by force. After this Mādhavī and her husband submitted the entire affair before the Sheikh. The queen wore the bracelets herself. She made her son wear the earrings and with Padmāvatī and Halāyudha Miśra went to the residence of the Sheikh. On hearing this the king also went there. The queen started quarrelling with the merchant's wife. Then the king remained with his face downcast.

After listening to both the sides, the Sheikh decided in favour of the queen, who was sent away with the bracelets. Then the Sheikh brought in all his treasures and first gave a pair of bracelets to Padmāvatī, the wife of Jayadeva Miśra. He then bestowed a pair of earrings on Halāyudha Miśra and sent him home. There after he distributed a pair of earrings to Jayadeva Miśra and sent him home. A pair of earrings was also given to Govardhana Āchārya. [1]

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1. Sheikh-Subhodaya-PP. 208-210.

This book, as its very title indicates, was written to celebrate the auspicious coming of a Muslim saint (pir) to a country which first knew Islam, where he was highly honoured. In the stories narrated in this work in the name of some historical persons, all prominence is given to the Sheikh and not to the king Lakṣmaṇa Sena. In the sixteenth story the king is found remaining with his face downcast when Mādhavī, the wife of the merchant was scolding queen Vallabhā. The trial of Mādhavī was made by the Sheikh and not by the king, who with his wife received treasures from him. This is all falsehood having not a grain of truth in it. Similarly it can never be imagined that ŚrīJayadeva and Padmāvatī who were great devotees of ŚrīKṛṣṇa, having no lust for wealth, sang songs in a humiliating manner in the court of a Sheikh and waited upon him to receive as presents a pair of earrings and a pair of bracelets. The connection of ŚrīJayadeva with the court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena cannot be established on the basis of this fanciful stories written hundreds of years after the time of the poet to sing the glory of a Muslim conquerer who wanted to absorb all the traditional glories of Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

It is concluded that the saintly poet ŚrīJayadeva who spent most part of his life at Puri with his devoted and beloved wife Padmāvatī was living under the patronage of the Ganga emperor of Utkala and was not associated with the court of king Lakṣmaṇa Sena as propagated by some scholars on the basis of wrong interpretation of a verse of the Gītagovinda which itself contradicts this theory.

RĀDHĀ IN PRE-GĪTAGOVINDA LITERATURE

VEDIC LITERATURE

In the Rigveda the oldest scripture of India we come across 'Viṣṇu Gopa' or cowherd Viṣṇu which admits the association of Viṣṇu (Kṛṣṇa) with the Gopas.[1] The word Rādhā found in the hymn to the Sun God in the Rigveda has been used in the sense of a Nakṣatra and does not mean any Gopī[2] In the Athravaveda Rādhā has been used as a synonym of Viśākhā Nakṣatra.[3] In the Taittiriya Brāhmana the two Viśākhās (Rādhā and Anurādhā) have been described as the female consorts of the Nakṣatras and two best Gopīs.[4] Thus in the vedic literature the word Rādhā was never used to mean a Gopī dear to ŚrīKṛṣṇa.

PURANIC LITERATURE

In the Mahābhārata there is no mention of Rādhā or her Rāsalīlā with ŚrīKṛṣṇa But at one place Arjuna found to have sent his wife Subhadrā sister of ŚrīKṛiṣṇa in the form of a Gopālikā or Gopī for cooling Draupadī's fury and jealousy.

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1. Rigveda—1-164-21, 31, 5-11-1, 5-61-1.
2. Rigveda—1-1-8, 1-22-18, 3-55-10.
3. Atharvaveda—20-45-2.
4. Taittiriya Brahman—31-1-11,

Among the important Puranas and UpaPurans mainly the Padma, the Brahmavaivarta, the Varaha, the Linga and the Devībhāgavata deal with her exhaustively. But one is certainly puzzled by her total absence in works like the Harivamśa, the Viṣṇu purana and especially the Bhagavata purana which purport to deal with the Kṛṣṇa legend at full length in all its details and do justice to the Gopīs generally.[1]

CLASSICAL KAVYAS

The Sanskrit works of different authors unmistakably show that the love episode of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa had gained popularity at least from the time of Hāla, who flourished in the first century A. D. So the incongruity of total absence of Rādhā in the notable Vaiṣṇava works like Viṣṇu purana, Harivamsa and Bhāgavata was most probably due to the fact that their authors belonged to the orthodox school of Vaiṣṇavism who supported the intense devotion of the Gopīs to SrīKṛṣṇa but could not tolerate the amorous indulgence of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā. But inspite of the opposition of the Bhāgavatas, the love episode of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa steadily gained ascendency in literature and reached its zenith in the immortal work Gītagovinda of Śrī Jayadeva.

In the 'Bāla charita' of Bhāsa the first great Sanskrit dramatist of the pre-Christian era there is a beautiful description of the Gopīs. This also contains a reference to the dance of the Gopīs in a circle around Dāmodara who remains in the centre in Hallisaka nṛtyabandha. This dance

1, Souvenir on Jayadeva, Bhubaneswar, 1968, P—52-72.

when developed became the Rāsayātrā of ŚrīKṛṣṇa.[1] The greatest Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa has given in his 'Meghadūta' an attractive picture of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa in the form of a cowherd, adorning himself with peacock feathers.[2]

It clearly indicates that the theme of Gopīnātha Kṛṣṇa had fully developed long before Kālidāsa who in his 'Raghuvamsa' has described the beauties of Vṛndāvana and Giri Goverdhana through the maid Sunandā accompanying Indumatī in her 'Svayamvara'.[3] Hala, the Andhrabhṛtya king of the Ist century A. D. in his famous 'Gāthāsaptaśatī' speaks of Yasoda, Dāmodara, Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā Gopīs, Vrajabadhū, which bear evidence regarding the popularity of their legends before his days.[4]

In the 'Panchatantra' ViṣṇuShaārmā (6th. century A. D) a poet of Kalinga describes how a weaver assuming the form of four-handed Nārāyaṇa and mounting on a wooden Garuda entered into the palace and supplicated the love of the princess[5]. So the story of Rādhā of Gopapura being the first wife ŚrīKṛṣṇa as narrated in his 'Panchatantram' has got historical significance.

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1. Bhāsanātakachakra—Poona Edn. Pages—538-539.
2. Meghaduta—Purvamegha—15.
3. Raghuvamsa—VI. 50-51.
4. Gathasaptasati—Vrses 89, 112, 128, 425, 443, 447 & 968.
5. Panchatantra—Sanskrit Samsthan, Bareli, 1981. P—91-105.

In the second verse of 'Venisamharanataka' by Bhatta Nārāyaṇa, who according to tradition belonged to Orissa there is clear reference to the Rāsalīlā of ŚrīKṛṣṇa with Rādhā on the bank of Yamunā.[1] The famous Kashmirian Ananda Vardhana (C. 860-880) in his 'Dvanyaloka' has quoted two verses which speak of the Rasalila of ŚrīKṛṣṇa with Rādhā and the Gopīs in the groves on the bank of the Yamunā.[2] Kaviraja, Rajsekhara (C. 880-920) in his 'Kāvyamīmāṃsā' has quoted two verses comparing the breaths of Śiva and Kṛṣṇa. The second illustration indicates the great love of ŚrīKṛṣṇa for Rādhā which aroused the jealousy of Kamalā or Lakṣmī. So also Trivikram, the court poet of the Rastrakuta king Indra III in his 'Nalachampū' (C. 915 A. D.) has implied the parakiyā prīti of Rādhā.

Somadeva Sūri of Gujrat in his 'Yaśastilaka Champū' (C-959-A D.) while narrating the love of a lady Amṛtamatī with a paramour has cited the case of Rādhā. The great alamkara writer AbhinavaGupta of Kashmir, (C-980-1020) in his work 'Dvanyaloka lochana' refers to Kṛṣṇa as 'Rādhāramaṇa' in his remarks in an illustration. Dhanika, the court poet of Munja, the king of Dhara in his work 'Daśarūpāvalok' (C-1000 A. D.) a commentary on 'Daśarūpaka' written by his brother, has quoted a verse of another alamkara writer Rudra who speaks of Kṛṣṇa coaxing Rādhā in a dream while

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1 Venisamharanataka—I. 2.

2. Dhvanyaloka—Oriya Edn. P—66, 353.

sleeping near Kamalā (Lakṣmī) was being enraged at this and threw Kṛṣṇa out of her embrace. In the second verse found in three stone inscriptions incised during the reign of Vakpati Munja, the Paramara king of Dhara, in 942 A.D. 946 A. D. and 974 A. D. the excellence of Rādhā's love with kṛṣṇa has been established, [1] The famous king Bhoja (1005-1054 A. D.) in his 'Sarasvatī kanthābharana' has given seven illustrations in which reference to Rādhā is found [2]

Kshemendra (1066 A. D.) the great Kashmirian poet has referred to Rādhā in four verses of his 'Daśāvatār charita'. [3] Hemachandra, the great Jain writer of Gujarat (1088-1172 A. D.) cites in his 'Kāvyānuśāsana' as illustrations no. 107 and no. 110 two verses 'yāte dvaravation' and 'Kanaka kalaśa svachha', also cited earlier in Vakro ktijivita and Sarasvatī kanthavharana respectively. The great poet Śrī Harṣa (c. 1150 A. D) in his 'Naiṣadhiya charita' gives a verse in which Nala is found glorifying Kṛṣṇa in the course of praise of the ten incarnations of viṣṇu. Ramachandra (1100-1175 A. D) a disciple of the famous Hemachandra and Gunachandra as joint authors wrote a work called 'Nātyadarpaṇa' in which reference is made to a drama Rādhābipralambha' by Bhijjala. Jagadeka Malla (1138-1150 A. D.) the Chalukya king of

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1. (a) The New Indian Antiquary, vol. VI, P—51,
   (b) Epigraphia Indica, vol. XXIII. P—108-111,

2, Sarasvatikanthabharana—II. 294, 351 and III. 110.

3. Deśavatāracharita—Verses—83, 170, 171, 176.

Kalyani in the maṅgalāchararaṇa verse of his work 'Saṅgītachūdamaṇi' prays to Viṣṇu (Kṛṣṇa) the lover of the Gopīs laying his hand over the breast of Rādhā (Sitting together) which was looked with anger and jealousy by Ramā or Lakṣmī [1]

Āchārya Govardhana of Utkala an elder contemporary of Jayadeva sings of Rādhā in five verses of his work 'Āryāsaptaśati.' The fragrant Tulasī decorating the head of kṛṣṇa could be equal with Rādhā as she (Tulasī) touched the feet of Rādhā while Kṛṣṇa was bowing at her feet. Rādhā looked with pride and joy at her feet on hearing of the coronation of Kṛṣṇa (as he would lay his head over the another feet). In order to put Kṛṣṇa to shame, Rādhā asked him how his lust could not be satiated even after enjoying so many Gopīs, when Śiva could get satisfaction by enjoying the half of Pārvatī. The damsels living on the shore of the ocean of milk were singing the glory of Rādhā, deep love for whom (of Kṛṣṇa) was arousing anger and jealousy in the heart of Lakṣmī as indicated by her warm breath. While moving round Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā was feeling intensly the pangs of separation as cupid was piercing her with arrows of love.[2]

Of the four great reformers of Vaiṣṇavism, hailing from the South in the twelfth century A. D. namely Śrī

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1. The Indian Historical Quarterly. vol. XX, P-87,

2. Aryasptasati—Verses—431, 490, 510, 511 and 530,

Viṣṇusvāmi ŚrīNimbārka, ŚrīRāmānuja and ŚrīMādhavī who were accepted as teachers by getting their doctrines accepted at Puruṣottama or Puri.[1] SriNimbarka alone proclaimed Rādhā as the spouse of SriKṛṣṇa in his divine sport.[2] In that age there flourished another saintly poet named Vilvamaṇgala or Lilāśuka in the Andhra country who like Jayadeva also exulted Rādhā in his devotional lyric called 'SrīKṛṣṇa karṇāmṛta.[3]

Thus by the time of Jayadeva, Rādhā had not only came to prominence in general literature but was also accepted in the scripture of the Nimbarka school and in the devotional lyric of 'ŚrīKṛṣṇa karṇāmṛta' of Vilvamaṇgala, which was very popular in that age. Jayadeva who stayed at Puri was greatly influenced by the Nimbarka school, which had its centre at Puri. So the exultation of Rādhā which is a distinct feature of the Nimbarka school inspired Śrī Jayadeva to develop his erotic mysticism in his immortal work Śrī Gitagovinda.

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1. श्रीब्रह्मरुद्रसनका वैष्णवाः क्षितिपावनाः ।
चत्वारस्ते कलौ भाव्याः सम्प्रदायप्रवर्त्तकाः ॥
श्रीविष्णुस्वामीनिम्बार्कमध्वरामानुजाख्यया ।
भविष्यन्ति प्रसिद्धास्ते ह्युत्कले पुरुषोत्तमात् ॥

A. I. O, C, Baroda, Page—449.

2. Dasasloki—1st. Āśvāsa,

3, Sri KrsnaKarnamrta—I, 13, 75, 106, II, 25, 42, 69, 72, 83, and III. 1, 2, 22, 24, 57 and 106.

DAŚĀVATĀRA IN PRE-JAYADEVA PERIOD

The Daśāvatāra stuti, the most popular song of Śrī Gītagovinda, having an universal appeal to the Hindus in general made its author better known to the common people than the famous Sanskrit scholars of India. But the ten Avatārs, whose glory is sung in an enchanting manner in the song, were not the creations of ŚrīJayadeva, but were known through out India long before his days as is now proved by epigraphic records, literary compositions and sculptures found in ancient monuments. The epigraphic records being the most authentic may be taken first into consideration.

The inscription (C-8th Century A. D.) on the lintel above the figure of Śaṃkara Nārāyana in the rock-cut verandah of the Varaha Perumal temple of Mahābalipuram contains the well-known puranic verse on the ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu [1] In this verse the first Rāma means Paraśurāma, the second Rāma denotes Dāśarathi Rāma and the third Rāma stands for Balarāma. By that time Buddha had been accepted as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.[2] The 'Viṣṇusahasranāma' includes Buddha as a synonym of Viṣṇu. The Agni, the Viṣṇu, the Varāha and the Bhāgavata purānas include Buddha in the ten Avatāras of Viṣṇu, but the Māhābhārata, Harivaṃśa and the Devi-Bhāgavata do not. Even Śamkarāchārya,

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1. मत्स्यकूर्मवराहश्च नरसिंहश्च वामनः ।
रामो रामश्च रामश्च बुद्धः कल्की च ते दश ॥

2. Memo. Archaeological Survey of India No. 26,

the religious opponent of Buddha describes the Buddha in very high terms.[1]

Next we come to the benedictory verses (Nos. 12-21) of the Ajmer stone inscription which had formed the introduction of a kāvya written in the twelfth century A. D.[2] It contains the invocation to the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. In the field of Sanskrit literature of the pre-Jayadeva period the first 'Daśāvatāra Stotram' written by the great Śamkarāchārya popularised the invocation of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu like many other important deities of the Hindu pantheon such as Śiva, Pārvatī, Gaṇeṣa, Jagannātha, etc. In his 'Daśāvatāra stotra' also Kṛṣṇa instead of Balarāma has been invoked as the eighth Avatāra. Kṣemendra, the great Sanskrit poet of Kashmir (1030-1080 A. D.) has also followed Śamkara in this respect in the 'Daśāvatāra 'Stuti' of his Kāvya 'Daśāvatāracharita'. Nala, the hero of the famous Naiṣadhiyacharita of mahākavi Sri Harṣa who flourished before a few years of Śrī Jayadeva, has offered prayer to the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. The number of Avatāras has remained ten, as Kṛṣṇa Balarāma have been accepted as a single one and Kalki as the tenth incarnation.[3] Thus by the time of ŚrīJayadeva there were two schools of which one was proclaiming Balarāma as the eighth Avatāra, whereas the greatest philosopher and reformer ŚrīSamkara accepted Kṛṣṇa as the eighth Avatāra.

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1. शङ्कराचार्य्यग्रन्थावली—पृ-१
2. Epigraphia Indica—vol. XXIX. P-179.
3. Naisadhiya Charita—Canto—21, Verses—55-92.

His view was followed by Kṣemendra and the author of the Ajmer stone inscription whereas ŚrīHarṣa made an attempt to conciliate the two schools by advocating that both Balarāma and SrīKṛṣṇa formed a single Avatāra. But Śrī Jayadeva who was the greatest devotee of ŚrīKṛṣṇa, in his famous hymn to Jagadiśa or Jagannātha of Puri, profounded that the ten incarnations were only the different manifestations of the Supreme Lord Kṛṣṇa, who is the 'Daśākṛtikṛt' or their very creator or progenitor of the ten Avatāras. By this his attempt to establish the supremacy and superiority of ŚrīKṛṣṇa over other Avatāras of Viṣṇu steadily attained success and the worship of Kṛṣṇa became widespread and deep rooted in the Hindu society.

COMMENTARIES

The present text of Gītagovinda contains two commentaries viz. 'Sarvāṅgasundarī' and 'Śrutirañjanī' preserved in the manuscript library of the Orissa State Museum. About thirty commentaries on Śrī Gītagovinda written by scholars of different parts of India, have so far been noticed in catalogues of manuscripts published by different instutitions. They are discussed here with special reference to the commentaries written in Orissa.

(A) BHĀVAVIBHĀVINITĪKĀ

The credit of discovering the Bhāvavibhāvini-ṭīkā by Udayana Āchārya on Śrī Gītagovinda goes to Dr. F. Kilhorn who gives the following brief note. 'No. of leaves 100,

No. of lines on each page 10, No. of slokas 100. Age of the manuscript 150, deposited and in possession of S. Lakshmana' [1]

Udayana Āchārya also wrote a commentary named Udayakarī on the 'Naishadha' a manuscript of which was discovered in Jammu and Kashmir, by M. A. Stein in 1894 [2] This commentator Pandit Udayana Āchārya may be identified with Udayana Āchārya, the younger brother of the famous Govardhan Āchārya author of 'Aryāsaptaśatī' who was a great scholar and poet like his brother. Authentic information about the profound scholarship and poetic talent of this Udayana is obtained from the inscription of the Śobhaneśvara temple which was built by a Brahmin chieftain Vaidyanātha, a vassal under the Ganga sovereign ruler of Orissa, in the Brāhmaṇa śāsan (village) Niali on the bank of the sacred river Prāchī near about 1170 A. D. [3]

From the inscription of the Megheśvara temple at Bhubaneswar it is known that Udayana was adorning the court of a vassal chieftain named Svapneśvar Deva, the builder of this temple, whose sister Suramā Devī was the queen of the Ganga Emperor Rāja Rāja Deva (1170-1190 A. D.) He was also a comtemporary of Aniyanka

1. A cat. of Sanskrit Mss. in C. P.—F, Kilhorn, 1874, No. 42, Page—62.

2. A cat. of Sanskrit Mss. at Jammu, P-28.

3. JBORS—vol. XVII, 1951, PP—119-135.

Deva. (1190-1198 A. D.) who is referred to in this inscription. Thus Udayana Ācharya who wrote the 'Bhāvavibhāvini tīkā' definitely flourished between 1170-1198 A. D and according to tradition current in the Kenduli area, the birth place of Jayadeva, there existed very cordial relation between these two poets who hailed from the same Prāchī valley. Thus it can be regarded, until the contrary is proved, as the first commentary of the Gītagovinda, but unfortunately the script of this commentary is not yet available to the scholars for discussion.

(B) SARVĀNGASUNDARĪ TĪKĀ

There are three palm leaf manuscripts containing the complete text of the Sarvāṅgasundarītīkā [1] on the Gītagovinda by Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa in the manuscripts library of the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar. The text is written in Oriya characters of the eighteenth century and the manuscripts are in a fair state of preservation. From the introductory verses of this work it is known that this commentary was written by Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa who begins this work after paying his respect to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. [2] The author Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa does not furnish any information in the body of his commentary regarding his native place, parentage, time or

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1. Sarvanga Sundari—OSM—Mss. No. L. 129 (a), 464 and 513.
2. Gitagovinda-Text—Page-1.

patron excepting that he bore the dignified title of Kavirāja.

TIME OF NĀRĀYANA DĀSA

The time of Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa can be tentatively fixed on the basis of the age of the authorities quoted by him. He has quoted twentynine authorities in his ṭīkā out of which Viṣṇu purāna is a work of the early centuries of the Christian era. Nothing is known about the work Padasāgara and Agama. The lexicon, Amarakoṣa cited in this work is a work of the 400-A. D [1] Trikāndaśeṣa written by Purusottāma Deva of Utkala is assigned to 850-A. D. [2] Viśva or Viśvaprakāśakoṣa was compiled by Mahesvara in 1111-A. D. Medini Kara, the lexicographer is assigned to a period prior to 1300-A. D. The works of Kālidāsa and Bharabi can be placed before 600-A. D. Among the other notable works Kichakavadha of Nitivarman (900-A. D.) Kaśikā of Vamana and Jayaditya (600-A. D), Kāvyādarśa of Dandi (750-A. D) and Kāvyaprakāśa of Mammata (1055-A. D). Sarasvatīkanthābharaṇa of Bhoja (1005-1054-A. D,), the king of Dhara, Kavikalpalata of Devesvara (1275-A, D) Natyasastra of Bharata (200-A D) Srngaratilaka of Rudra Bhatta (1000-A. D), Smaradipikā of Minanatha (1075-A, D) Rasikasarvasva and Sangitasarvasva of Jagaddhara (1300-A D.) of Mithila have been quoted

1. Amarakosa—Ed. Dr. H. D, Sharma and Dr. N. G. Sardesai, Introduction, P-10.

2. OHRJ—vol. II, Page—71.

in this 'Sarvāngasundaritīkā'. Now this much can be said with certainty that Kavirāja Nārāyana Dāsa flourished after Jagaddhara whose works he has utilised in his commentary. But his date can definitely be fixed when the date of Dhṛtidāsa whose commentary on the Gītagovinda has been utilised in 'Sarvāngasundaritīkā' is determined with the help of authentic evidence.[1]

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TITLE OF KAVIRĀJA

The title of Kavirāja borne by Nārāyaṇa Dàsa is significant as he feels pride and glory in using it in the second introductory verse and at the end of each sarga of his tīkā. It is known from the history, of Sanskrit literature that the celebrated poet and scholar Rajasekhara subsequently takes pride in calling him Kavirâja in his 'Karpuramanjarī' and 'Biddhashalabhanjika'. This distinction was attained by him, when he had become the author of many important works. Kavirāja is defined in the 'Kāvyamimamsā' of this Rajasekhara as one who is unrestrained and proficient in various languages, various sorts of poetical compositions and various sentiments. Thus a Kavirāja is one stage higher

1. (a) A History of Sanskrit literature—Varadachari, P—79, 184, 191.

(b) A History of Sanskrit poeties—Dr. S. K. De, P—142, 260.

(c) Studies in Indian literary history—Dr, P. K. Gode, vol. I P—281-290, 320, 380, 369.

(d) A Descriptive cat. of Sanskrit Mss, Orissa—K, N. Mahapatra, Vol. II PP—LI

than a Mahākavi, and Kavirājas are rare.

NĀRĀYANA AND VISVANĀTHA KAVIRĀJA

By applying the criterion prescribed by Rājasekhara,[1] which was followed by the poets and scholars of that age, it can safely be concluded that Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa must have attained celebrity by the time he began his 'Sarvāṅgasundaritīkā' on the Gītagovinda. Such a celebrated poet of the age was 'Kavi Panditamukhya' Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, who is respectfully mentioned by his descendant, the renowned Visvanātha Kavirāja of Orissa, in his 'Sāhityadarpana' and 'Kāvyaprakāśadarpana'.

From the quotations given by Visvanātha Kavirāja in the above two works it is known that this Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, fore-father of Visvanātha was adorning the court of Mahārājādhirāja Narasimha Deva, the emperor of Tri-Kalinga (Orissa). He was an authority on 'Rasa' and vanquished a notable scholar named Dharmadatta in a learned discourse on this subject. His patron Narasimha was either Narasimha Deva II (1279-1307 A. D.) or Narasimha Deva III (1326-1350 A. D.)

IMPORTANCE OF THIS COMMENTARY

This 'Sarvāngasundarī Tīkā' being one of the earliest commentaries of the Gītagovinda, written by a great scholar of the birth place of the saintly poet Jayadeva has got some

1. Kavyamimansa—GOS—Vol. I, Intr. P-XXXII, Text—P-19.

special importance. The first thing deserving consideration is the appropriate interpretation of the significant and chronological verse of Gītagovinda (I-4) mentioned earlier. It clearly proves that Jayadeva has only established his superiority over four other contemporary poets and says nothing about his own association with any royal court.

The second thing that deserves consideration is the clear imterpretation of the line 'Kinduvilva samudra sambhava Rohiṇīramaṇen' which definitely states that Kinduvilva śāsana or Brāhmana village is the birth place of ŚrīJayadeva, where he flourished and came into prominence. [1] The explanation of this line given by Nārāyaṇa Dāsa convincingly proves that the present Kenduli śāsana near the Prāchī river of the Puri district can definitely be identified with the Kinduvilvaśāsana of the Gītagovinda whereas the Kenduli village on the bank of the river Ajaya was never a Śāsana or Brāhmaṇa village in the past or at present.

Thirdly, this commentary is also very important as it has not included the eighteen interpolated verses noted under footnote which were incorporated at the end of each canto of the Gītagovinda explained by Rāṇā Kumbhakarṇa in his 'Rasikapriyā' commentary composed

1. Gitagovinda—Text, P-132.

about 1450-A. D.[1] All these verses have been added into the original text of the Gītagovinda sometime after the composition of 'Sarvāṅgasundaritīkā' by Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa and before the time of Rāṇā Kumbha. The commentator Nārāyaṇa Dāsa has accepted 77 verses of the Gītagovinda and composed his commentary on 76 verses leaving the last verse at the end.

(C) ŚRUTIRANJANITĪKĀ

There are three palmleaf manuscripts containing the complete text of Srutiranjanitīka on Gitagovinda by the Pandita Lakṣmaṇa Sūri in the manuscript library of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. [2] Pandita Lakṣmaṇa

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1. (I) 1. नित्योत्सङ्ग·· ···पिकानां गिरः 2. रासोल्लासभरेण.....हरिः पातु वः, (II) 3. साकूतस्मित···· ·वः केशवः, (III) 4. तिष्यं कण्ठः·····कटाक्षोर्मयः, (IV) 5. वृष्टिव्याकुल ·····कंसद्विषः, (V) 6. राधामुग्ध ···देवकीनन्दनः, (VI) 7. किं विश्राम्यसि······गर्भगिरः, (VII) 8. प्रातर्नील····· नन्दात्मजः, (VIII) 9. तदेवं पश्यन्त्या···· ·लज्जां जनयति 10. अन्तर्मोहन····· श्रेयांसि वंशीरवः (IX) 11 सान्द्रानन्द·····वन्दामहे, (X) 12. सप्रीतिं तनुतां कंसस्य कोलाहलः, (XI) 13. सानन्दं नन्दसूनु ····· मालोकयन् वः, 14 जयश्रीविन्यस्तै······मुरजितः & 15. सौन्दर्यैकनिधे······मुकुन्दो मुदम्, (XII) 16. व्यालोलः केशपाश···· मुग्धकान्तिर्धिनोति, 17. ईषन्मीलितदृष्टि··· ध्यात्याननम् 18. इत्यं केलिततिः·····स्फीता मुदा सम्पदम् ॥

2, Srutiranjanitika—OSM. Mss. No, L. 12, 469 & 548.

Sūri was the son of Yajneśvara and Saryāmbā and grandson of Timmaya Somayāji of Cherukuru family of the Krishna district. It is known from the colophons of the Srutiranjanītikā that Kondubhatta, the elder step-brother of Lakṣmaṇa Sūri was proficient in Purva and uttara Mīmānsā-sabda-tarka-Sāhitya. He belonged to Cherukuru family and was a devoute worshipper of Dakṣiṇāmūrti Mahādeva [1] Kondabhatta, who was a great Sanskrit scholar, lived under the patronage of Venkatapa Nayaka and his grandson and successor Virabhadra Nayaka of the Keladi royal family ruling at Ikeri in the Simga district of Mysore. [2] He was the son of Rangoji and nephew of the great Bhattoji Dikṣita.

Lakṣmaṇa Sūri, the younger brother of Kondabhatta, the author of Srutiranjani commentary, lived under the patronage of Tirumalla Ray (1565-1580 A. D.) the king of the reduced territory of Vijayanagara, who ruled after the famous battle of Talikota in 1565 A. D. He is also known as Lakṣmīdhara. [3] He wrote a commentary entitled 'Abhistarthadāyini' on 'Prasannarāghavanātaka' by Jaydeva and attributed it in the name of Siddharujā Timaraju, the nephew of Tirumalla Ray. He was credited with a prakṛta grammar called 'Sadbhāsāchandrikā.' He

1. Gitagovinda—Text. Page-88.

2. Studies in Indian literary history—
Dr. P. K. Gode, vol. III, PP-207-212.

3. (a) A Descriptive cat. of Sanskrit Mss. in the Govt. O. M. Library, Madras vol. XX, PP, 7988-96.
(b) Sources of Vijayanagar History – S. K. Ayyangur-P. 212-213.

was also the author of Alankara muktāvlī, Svaramanjarī and a commentary on Anargharāghava. His Srutiranjanītīkā was very popular in the States like Orissa, Andhra and Tamilnadu. The commentator Lakṣmana Sūri has followed the footprints of Kavirāja Nā āvaṇa Dāsa in writing the commentary on Gītagovinda. He has commented on 73 verses in all leaving four verses (canto-IV, verse-3, canto-x, verse-4 canto-XII-veses 6 & 10) which are found in Sarvangasundaritīkā. Pandit Lakṣmana Sūri was a great Sanskrit scholar who has proved his erudition in citing various Sanskrit works and authors as authorities in his Srutiranjani commentaty.

The works and authors cited in 'Śrutiranjanītikā' are Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Srimadbhāgavata, the three great epics of India, Viṣṇupurāṇa, Kavikanthapāśi, Kāvyaprakāśa of Mammata (1055-A. D.), Rāmadeviya, Haribhaktisudhodaya of Hari Bhatta (16th c. A. D.) Gītachudamani, Sangitaratnākara of Sarṅgadeva (c. 13th. c. A. D.) Bhāratiya (Natyaśastra), Nitiratnamālā, Bhagirathistava, Ratikalpalatā Bhāvaprakāśa of Saradatanaya, Ritukridaviveka, Ratirahasya of Kokkaka (13th. c. A D) Vādyaviveka, Kṛṣṇakarṇamṛta of Bilvamaṅgala, Sangita or Gitachudāmaṇi Jayadekamalla (1150-A D) Rasikasarvasva of Nārayana, Sarasvati Kanthabharana of Bhoja, Malatimādhava of Bhavabhuti (725-A. D.) Kāmakalā, Nānārthdīpikā and authors like Rudrata (9th. century A. D), Vāmana (8th. century A. D.), Bharata the author of Nātyaśāstra and Magha (7th century A D.)

(D) SARVĀNGASUNDARĪTĪKĀ

Like the Sarvṅāgasundarī tīkā by Kavirāja Nā āyaṇa Dāsa, this tīka in the same name by Dhanjaya Dvija was

also very popular in Orissa as manuscripts of this commentary are found from several places. But this tīkā which follows the interpretation given by Nārāyaṇa Dāsa is more elaborate and exhaustive and contains the number of authorities quoted therein.

IMPORTANCE OF THIS COMMENTARY

According to a traditional verse current in Orissa, the original Gītagovinda contained 12 sargas 24 gāthās and 72 slokas[1]. Dhananjaya has given the gloss of '75 verses in his work and the order of the verse has been changed. This tīkā begins with a benediction to Balarāma[2]. The last verse of this tīkā states that it was written by Dhananjaya, a Brahmin Pandit in the 39th Anka year of Gajapati Mukunda Deva[3]. on Thursday, Kanya Kṛṣṇa pratipad tithi.

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1. चतुर्विंश गाथागीतमवे । वाआस्तरी श्लोकसहिले ॥
द्वादश सर्ग एहु भाव । काव्य उपरे महाकाव्य ॥
(अर्थगोविन्द-पृ-143)

2. वसानं नीलवसनं कुन्देन्दुधवलं बलम् ।
अहं करीन्द्रं पारिन्द्रवन्दे वृन्दारकस्तुतम् ॥
आस्ते हृदि यदि वाञ्छा वोद्धुं तत्वेन गीतगोविन्दम् ।
शृणु जनरम्योपेतां सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरीटीकाम ॥
(OSM—Mss, No. SMS, 51.)

3. वीरेन्द्रस्य मुकुन्दसिन्धुरपतेर्दिनेकवन्धोनव-
त्रिंशोऽङ्के प्रतिपत्तिथौ गुरुदिने कन्यां गते भास्करे ।
टीका पुत्तलिकान्वितं विलिखितं श्रीगीतगोविन्दकं
काव्यं चारुधनञ्जयाख्यधरणीदेवेन पक्षेऽसिते ॥
(OSM—Mss, No SMS, 53)

The 39 th Anka of Mukunda Deva was current from the 28th August 1688 A. D.[1] The author Dhananjaya was a renowned Pandit of Orissa.

The commentator Dhananjaya has proved his erudition in this commentary which contains the quotations from different Kāvya, Purāṇa, Koṣa, Alaṅkāra, Vyākaraṇa, Āgama, Sangīta, Ayurveda, Kāmaśastra, Nīt'śāstra etc. Except the verse 'Nityotsaṅga' other seventeen verses referred to under the footnote of 'Sarvāṅgasudarītīk'ā and commented by Rāṇā Kumbha in his 'Rasikapriyā tīkā' are not found in this commentary.

(E) SARVĀNGASUNDARĪTIKĀ

There is a manuscript of Sarvāṅgasundarī tīka by Kṛṣṇa Dāsa Kavirāja written in Oriya characters in the manuscript library of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. This tīkā begins with a prayer to Hari and is named again as 'Sarvaṅkaṣā' in the coloplon[2]. From the last verse it is known that this tīkā was completed on Jyestha Sukla chaturthī Wednesday in the 17 th. Aṅka year of Gajapati Dibyasingha Deva, the

1 खुरधा इतिहास –पृ-125.

2. नत्वा श्रीहरिचरणं कुरुते सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरीटीकाम् ।
श्रीयुक्त कृष्णदासः कविराजो गीतगोविन्दे ॥

× × ×

इति श्रीकृष्णदासविरचितायां सर्वङ्कषाख्यायां
गीतगोविन्दटीकायाः प्रथमः सर्गः ।

king of Khurda[1]. His 17 th, Aṅka was current from 2-9-1701 to 23-8-1702. This Kṛṣṇa Dāsa who flourished during the reign of Gajapati Dibyasingha Deva cannot be confused with the famous Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja Gosvāmī of Bengal. Kṛṣṇa Dāsa, the commentator of Gītagovinda no doubt flourished in Orissa.

(F) RASIKARANGADĀTIKĀ

There are eight palmleaf manuscripts of Rasikaraṅgadā tīkā by Lakṣmaṇa Bhatta in the manuscript library of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar[2]. Pandita Lakṣmaṇa Bhatta a resident of Puruṣottama kṣetra of Puri, wrote this commentary on Gītagovinda, the manuscripts of which are available in different parts of Orissa due to its popularity among the Pandits. He has started his Rasikarangadā tīkā by invoking the blessings of Rādhā-Mādhava, Jagannātha, and Mahaprabhu ŚrīChaitanya. He was some how connected with the 'sevā' of Lord Jagannātha. This tīkā was completed

1. ज्येष्ठे मासि सिते बुधस्य दिवसे पक्ष चतुर्थी तिथा-
वङ्के सप्तदशे नृपस्य सुधिया श्रीदिव्यसिंहस्य च ।

× × ×

इति श्रीकृष्णदासविरचितायां श्रीगीतगोविन्दे सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरी-
टीकायां स्वाधीनभर्तृकावर्णने सुप्रीतपीताम्बरो नाम द्वादशः सर्गः ।

(OSM—Mss. No L. 289 & 574)

2. Gitagovinda with Rasikarangadatika—No. L,
11, 13, 90, 508, 521, 524, 525 & 560.

in Saka year 1664 or 1742 A. D. at Puri[1]. He is also known to have written a kâvya named 'ŚrīKṛṣṇalīlāmṛta' in Oriya which was completed in the 53rd. Aṅka year of Gajapati Virakeśarī Deva (1737-1793 A. D) the exact year of which was 1778-A. D.[2]

The commentator has quoted the following works and authors in his 'Rasikaraṅgadāṭīkā' which prove his range of knowledge in different Śastras. They are Rasâmṛtasindhu of Jagannāth Miśra (1725-1750 A. D) of Orissa, Sangitandrāyaṇa of Gajapati Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deva (1748-1771 A. D.), Kavyadarśa, Hamsaduta of Raghunatha Dāsa, Dānakelikaumudi of Rūpa Gosvāmi Chhandomanjari of Ganga Dāsa, Ratnamalā, Bhagavata, Brahmanda, Purāna, Viṣṇugupta samhitā, and the authors namely Sarṅgadhara, Medinikara, Amara, Bharata and Dandī

Following the commentary of Kavirāja Nārâyana Dâsa, the commentator Lakṣmaṇa Bhatta gives a clear interpretation of the significant verse (I-4) of Gītagovinda and proves that Kenduvilva, the native village of the poet Jayadeva is a combination of the names

1. शकाब्दे षोडशशते चतुः षष्ट्याधिके गते ।
ग्रथिता लक्ष्मणोनासौ टीका श्रीपुरुषोत्तमे ॥
(OSM—Mss. No. L. 525.)

2. खुरुधा इतिहास—पृ-213, 261-262.

of Kendu and Vilva as has been discussed earlier.[1]

Besides the commentaries of Orissa discussed above there are other twentyfour commentaries on Gītagovinda written in different parts of India. They are noted here by name in chronological order for reference of the scholars. (i) Sāradīpikā by Jagaddhara (c. 1310-A. D.) of Mithila (ii) Tippaṇikā by Mananka (c. 1431-A. D.) of Bengal, (iii) Sarvāṅgasundarī by Bṛhaspati Miśra (c. 1431-A. D.) of Bengal, (iv) Sandarbhadīpikā by Dhṛtidāsa (Kara) (c. 1450-A. D.) of Bengal, (v) Rasikapriyā by Rāṇā Kumbha (c. 1460-A. D.) of Mewar, (vi) Rasamanjarī by Śaṃkara Miśra (c 1560-A. D.) of Mithila, (vii) Srutiranjanī by Tirumalla Ray (c. 1565-A D.) of Andhra, (viii) Sanjīvanī by Banamali Bhatta (c 1575-A D.) of Kashi, (ix) Sāhityaratnamālā by Śeṣa Kamalākara (c. 1579-A D) (x) Balabodhinī by Chaitanya Dāsa (c. 1600-A. D.) of Bengal (xi) Padadyotanikā by Nārāyana Pandit (c 1600-A. D) of Keral, (xii) Gaṇgā (xiii) Śaśilekhā by Kṛṣṇa Datta (c. 1610-A. D) of Mithilā, (xiii) Rasakadambakallolinī by Bhagavata Dāsa (c. 1628-A. D.) of Vṛndavan, (xv) Rasatara-

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1. पुनः कीदृशेन, किन्दुविल्व इति जयदेवस्य निवासग्रामः, तस्यातिविपुलत्वात्समुद्रेणोपमा तत्सम्भवो रोहिणीरमणश्चन्द्रः तद्गामवासीजनजातस्यातिरहस्य भगवल्लीलानुवर्णनेन समुद्रस्य चन्द्र इवानन्दकस्तेन, किन्दुविल्व इत्यत्र वरुणादिभिश्चेत्यदूरभवार्थस्य णप्रत्ययस्य लोपः । किन्दुविल्वयोरदूरभवत्वाद् ग्रामस्य किन्दुविल्वेति नाम निर्देशः ।

(OSM—Mss, No. L. 525—f. 27)

ngiṇī by Nārāyaṇa Bhatta (c. 1660-A. D.) of Vṛndavan, (xvi) Sarvārthabodhinī by Gopāla (c. 1664-A. D.), (xvi) Anupodaya by Anupa Singh (c 1664 A. D,) of Rajsthan, (xviii) Artharatnāvalī by Gopala Chakravarti (c. 1677-A. D.), (xix) Padabhavārthachandrikā by Srikānta Miśra (c. 1700-A. D.), (xx) Mādhurī by Ranganatha Arade (c. 1725-A. D) of Maharastra (xxi) Sarvāṅgnsundarī by Nārāyana Sharma (c. 1728-A. D.), (xxii) Tippaṇī by Chidānanda Bhiksu, (xxiii) Mādhurī by Ramatarka Chudamaṇī of Bengal and (xxiv) Gītagovindaprabodha by Ramākanta of Dacca. [1] Moreover the names of some other commentaries, viz. Vachanamālikā, Artharatnavalī by Chaitanya Dāsa, Sanandagovinda by Rudradeva, Gītagovindavivṛti by Vithal Dikṣita, Srutiranjanī by Viśveśvara Bhatta and Tilakottamā by Hṛdayābharaṇa are also known. [2]

IMITATIONS

In the domain of Sanskrit literature the Gītagovinda written by SrīJayadeva, the celebrated Sanskrit poet of Orissa has got the largest number of imitations like the 'Meghadutam' by Mahākavi Kālidāsa. Uptill now forty-seven imitations of the Gītagovinda made by pandits of different parts of India have been traced on which brief discussion is made below with special reference to the imitations of Orissa.

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1. History of classical Sanskrit literature—
M. Krishnamachariar, Delhi, 1974, P-342-343.

2, OHRJ—Special volume, 1982, P-445-450

(I) FIRST IMITATION OF THE GĪTAGOVINDA

From the traditional account of Jayadeva recorded in the 'Bhaktavijaya' written in old Marathi language it is known that after the introduction of the singing of the Gītagovinda by ŚrīJayadeva in the temple of Jagannātha, the Rājā of Puri tried to introduce his own work probably named Gītagovinda, thereby replacing that of ŚrīJayadeva. But he was mortified to know that his work was discarded by the Lord. So when he wanted to commit suicide due to utter despair, Lord Jagannath out of compassion for his royal devotee wrote 24 verses of kings work in Jayadeva's work by which the king was comforted. This has been attested in 'Bhaktamālā' by Chandra Datta (17th. C. A. D.) of Mithilā and in 'Dārdhyatābhakti' by Rāma Dāsa (18th C. A. D.) of Orissa. [1] But Chandra Datta does not speak anything about the interpolation of verses from the king's work into ŚrīGītagovinda.

The last verse of the 'Rasikapriyā' commentary on the Gītagovinda written by Rāṇā Kumbakarṇa between 1460-1468 contains a veiled reference to a king Puruṣottama, who was the author of this first imitation of the Gītagovinda[2]. Kumbhakarṇa also refers to a work written by this king

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1. (a) Dardhyatabhakti—P. 425.
   (b) Bhaktamala—(N. S. P. Edn.) P-9.

2 Gitagovinda—(N. S. P. Edn.) P-173

while commenting on the 13th verse of the 4th sarga[1]. Thus the king of Puri, the author of the first imitation, flourished before the days of Rāṇā kumbhakarṇa (1460 A. D). Of the kings of Orissa, who flourished before Rāṇā kumbha, Bhanu Deva II (1307-1328 A. D.) is described as a great devotee of Govinda and Śrīpati, a great scholar and patron of scholars[2]. Therefore, it is quite possible that this learned king Bhānu Deva II, who is called Puruṣottama in two of his records[3], and who was a devout worshipper of Govinda wrote an imitation of the Gītagovinda the, name of which is not yet known for recitation in the temple of Jagannātha in place of Gītagovinda, of ŚrīJayadeva, the singing of which as a daily seva of the deity was introduced by his father Narasiṃha Deva II. (1278-1317 A. D.)

(ii) ABHINAVA GĪTAGOVINDA

The 'Abhinavagītagovinda mahākāvya' was the composition of Kavichandraraya Divakara Miśra of Orissa, but its authorship has been attributed by the poet to Gajapati Puruṣottama Deva (1466-1497 A. D,) as a sign of gratitude for his patronage. This work as its very name indicates, was a new Gītagovinda and as such the theme and arrangement are similar in both the works. But Gītagovinda has 12 cantos, 24 aṣṭapadīs

1. Ibid—P-75.

2. Panjabi Matha C. P. grant of BhanuDeva II—
O. H. R. J. vol. IX No. 142, 22—24.

3. S. I. Inscriptions—vol. VI Nos. 714, 938.

Prabandhas and 72 or 77 verses whereas Abhinava gītagovinda is divided into 10 cantos and contains 72 chatuṣpadī Prabandhas and 150 verses. As regards the use of the Rāgas we find only eleven Rāgas ie. Karṇāta, Gujjarī, Gondakerī, Deśākhya, Deśī, Deśī Varādī, Varādī, Vasanta, Bhairavī, Mālava and Rāmakerī in the Gītagovinda whereas 58 Rāgas have been used in the Abhinava Gītagovinda.[1] Borrowing only eight Rāgas form Gītagovinda, the author has used 51 new Rāgas viz. Āmrapanchama, Ābhirī, Kakubha, Karānta-Vangāla, Kalahamsa, Kalyaṇanāta, Kāmboji, Kuranji, Kedāragaudā, Kolāhala, Gāndhāra, Gāudī, Ghantārava, Chintādeśī, Chhāyanata, Todī, Dīpaka, Dhanāsi, Natanārāyaṇa, Nādaramakeri, Nārāyanagaudā, Puravī, Nārāyaṇdeśākhya, Vangāla-gaudā, Vangāla-varādī, Vahulī, Velāvalī, Bhinnaṣadja, Bhūpāla, Bhairava, Mangalagujjarī, Madhyamādī, Mallaharī, Mallāra, Mālavagaudā, Mālaśri or Mālasi, Mukhārī or Mukhāvarī, Revagupti, Lalita, Śaṅkarābharaṇa, Śrī, Śuddha-nata, Śuddha-vangāla, Śuddha-varādī, Śuddha-Vasanta, Sālaṇkanāta. Sāma-Varādī, Soma, Sauraṣtragujjarī and Hindola in the Abhinavagītagovinda which began to be used in the Oriya kāvyas from the beginning of the 15th century.

The subject matter of each canto of the Abhinava gītagovinda is named as follows. (i) Virahinīvarnane Vidhurarādha (ii) Nāyikābhilāṣavarnane sotkanthavai-

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1, SriJayadeva O SriGitagovinda—P-255-258.

kuntha (iii) Abhisārikāvarnane Muditarādha (iv) Kalahantaritāvarane Vimugdharādha, (v) Vipralabdhāvarnane Vidagdhamādhava (vi) Vāsakasajjāvarnane Samkṣubdharādha (vii) Khanditāvarnane Vilakṣapundarikākṣa (viii) Māninīvarnane Akunthavaikuntha (ix) Proṣitabhartṛkāvarnane Anukūlarādha and (x) Svadhinabhartṛkavarxane Sānandamukunda.[1]

Like the famous 'Daśāvatārstuti' or prayer to the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu of the Gītagovinda we find a similar hymn in the first canto of the Abhinava Gitagovinda, the only difference being that lord Buddha, the ninth incarnation prayed to by SrīJayadeva has been substituted by Kṛṣṇa in Abhinavagītagovinda which indicates the total decline of Buddhism and the strong hold of Kṛṣṇa worship over the people in Orissa by his time. Instead of 'Jaya Jagadiśa Hare' of the Gītagovinda we find 'Janana Pālananāśakāraṇa Nīlagīripatimachytam' as 'Dhrubapada' in the Abhinavagītagovinda. This shows that 'Daśākṛtikṛt Kṛṣṇa' has been identified with 'Nīlagiripati Achyuta or Jagannātha' by the royal poet, who was his great devotee. Another 'Daśāvatāra' stuti is found towards the close of Abhinavagītagovinda, which is absent in the Gītagovinda.

As regards the date of this work, it may be stated here that the date of copy of the Orissa State Museum manuscript

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1. Abhinava Gitagovinda—Ed. Dr, B, Panda, Editor, Directorate of Culture, Orissa, 1977.

was Vaiśākha Śukla, Pratipad, Bhānu vasara, in the 34 th Anka year of the increasingly victorious reign of Gajapati Purushottama Deva. The exact corresponding date to Christian era being the 6th. April, 1494 Sunday the date of composition may tentatively be fixed between 1466-1494-A. D. The royal author has tried to make the language of his work as simple, sweet and melodious as that of Gītagovinda, but the success achieved by him, though praiseworthy, is not complete.

(iii) JAGANNĀTHAVALLABHANĀTAKA

Ray Ramānanda whose original family surname was Pattanaik, was the Governor of Rājamahendri on the sacred Godāvari river under Gajapati Prataparudra Deva (1497-1535 A. D.). This great Vaiṣṇava philosopher and erudite scholar wrote a drama in Sanskrit called 'Jagannāthavallabhanātaka' or 'Rāmānanda Sangītanātaka' in imitation of the Gītagovinda to gain the pleasure of his patron Gajapati Pratāparudra Deva.[1]

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1. (a) Evolution of Sanskrit Lyrics in Orissa-
Culture, Cuttack, 1978, P-98.

(b) श्रीभवानन्दरायस्य तनुजेन हरिचरणालंकृतमानसेन
श्रीरामानन्दरायेण कविना तत्तद्गुणालंकृतं श्रीजगन्नाथवल्लभ-
नाम गजपतिप्रतापरुद्रप्रियं रामानन्द-सङ्गीतनाटकं निर्माय
समर्पितमभिनेष्यामि ।

(OSM—Mss, No. L. 66)

This drama contains cantowise the following subjects (I) Purvarâga (II) Bhâvapariksā (III) Bhāvaprakāśa (Iv) Rādhābhisāra and (v) Rādhāsaṅgama. The author has incorporated twentyone songs in this drama, Rāgas of each of which has been indicated in imitation of the songs of the Gītagovinda. They are Nata, Kedāra, Vasanta, Gondakiri, Gāndhāra, Todī-Varādī, Sāmagujjari, Malāєra, Sahayi, Deśākhya, Karnāta, Mālava, Dukṣivarādī, Sāmarodī; Rāmakelī, Miśra, Sukhasindhudā, Āhārā, Lalita and Maṅgalagujjarī The total number of Rāga used in this work is twenty only as the Rāga 'Sâma Gujjari' has been used for two songs.[1]

This work of Ray Rāmānanda was written before the advent of ŚrīChaitanya to Puri in 1510-A. D. and after the accession of Gajapati Prataparudra Deva on the throne of Orissa in 1497 A. D. Thus it can tentatively be assigned to the first decade of the 16th century. As regards the language of the songs it may be stated that some of the songs of this drama are sweet, simple and melodious as those of the Gītagovinda for which it was very much liked by Śrī Chaitanya who used to listen to the singing of it along with that of Gītagovinda of ŚrīJayadeva and 'Kṛṣṇakarnāmṛta' by Līlāśuka.

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1. Evolution of Sanskrit Lyrics in Orissa-
Culture, Cuttack, 1978, P—99

(iv) RUKMINĪPARINAYA

Rukminīpariṇaya mahākāvya by NārāyaṇaBhanja Deva (1525-A. D.) son of Govinda Bhanja, the king of Baud (Head-quarters of present Phulbani district) is a small lyrical Kāvya with new theme based on the marriage episode of Rukminī and Kṛṣṇa. Though the work is styled as mahākāvya it may not be so according to the conventions.

The work is divided into six cantos, each of which contains two songs and each song has four stanzas as in Abhinavagītagovinda. The songs are composed in twelve different Rāgas such as Mālavagauda, Deśākhya, Gujajri, Mālava, Varādī, Vasanta, Bhairava, Karṇāta and Śrīraga with other three new Rāgas viz, Kāmodi, Gaurī and Dakṣiṇa which are not used in previous works. It contains also forty verses in all written in different metres. The subject matter has been noted at the end of each canto as (1) Rukminīsambhava, (2) Vaidarbhipurvānurāga, (3) Vivāhodyoga, (4) Dūtisambhāṣaṇa (5) Dvijadūta and (6) Rukminīparinaya respectively. [1] This is the third imitation of Gītagovinda available so for in the field of lyrical kāvyas in Orissa,

(v) RĀDHĀMĀDHAVALĪLĀ

Kṛṣṇa Dāsa Badajenā Mahāpatra, a court poet of Gajapati

1. Rukminiparinaya—Ed. B. Panda, Editor, Directorate of Culture, Orissa, BBSR, 1974, Page—VIII-XII.

Mukunda Deva (1559-1568-A. D,) and the author of the 'Gītaprakāśa' who was honoured in the court of Akbar the great, wrote some work on the līlā of ŚrīRādhāMādhava, quotations from which have been given in his Gītaprakāśa,[1] The work of Kṛṣṇa Dāsa describing the līlā of ŚrīRādhā and Mādhava still awaits discovery.

(vi) RĀDHĀKṚSNA LĪLĀ

The quotations given in the 'Sangitakalpalatā' by Haladhara Miśra, a court poet of Gajapati Narasingha Deva (1621-1647 A. D) from some unknown work of Bāṇanagara Harichandana, indicate that Harichandana, or Raghunātha Harichandana of Bāṇanagara or Bānapur, wrote a work on the līlā of ŚrīRādhā and Kṛṣṇa in imitation of the Gītagovinda. But this work which still remains unknown to the scholars can be glimpsed by a song quoted in the above work.[2]

(vii) GOPAGOVINDA

Kaviratna Puruṣottama Miśra, a court poet of Gajapatī Jagannātha Nārāyaṇa Deva (1648-1664-A.D.) of Paralakhemundi has referred to Gopagovinda and to Gopagovindaṭīkā in his 'Sangitanārāyaṇa', a famous work on the science of music composed about 1650-A. D. and attributed in the name of his patron as named above.[3]

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1. Gitaprakasa – Ed. N. Panigrahi, Orissa Sangita Nataka Akademi, BBSR, 1983 P-19
2. Sangitakalpalatika—Ed. N, Panigrahi. Orissa Sangita Natak Akademi, Bhubaneswar, 1984, P-77.
3. (a) Sangitanarayana—Orissa Sahitya Akademi, Bhubaneswar, 1966, P-73

   (b) A Descriptive Cat. of Skt. Mss. vol. II-P-CXCIV.

The Nātyamanoramā, another treatise on music by Raghunātha Ratha composed in 1697-A. D. quotes a line from 'Gopagovinda' from which it can be presumed to be an imitation of the famous Gītagovinda.[1] No lines of Gopagovinda are also quoted in 'Sangitārnavachandrikā', another treatise on music by Raghunātha Ratha, who has mentioned the name of this work for several times in the Nātyamanorama.[2] This Gopagovinda may be a work of Kaviratna Puruṣottama Miśra as stated earlier. No further comment on the work can be made till a manuscript is available.

(viii) MUDITAMĀDHAVA

From the introduction of 'Mahimālā natikā' by the poet Anadi Miśra (1650-A. D.) it is known that his father Śatanjīva Miśra who flourished in the first half of the 17th. century, wrote a gītakāvya called 'Muditamādhava.[3] It was a Gītakāvya like the famous Gītagovinda depicting the līlā of ŚrīRādhā and Mādhava, the singing of the songs of which charmed the learned audience. But unfortunately the manuscript of this work has not yet been discovered so far.

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1. Natyamanorama—Orissa Sahitya Akademi, Bhubaneswar, 1959, P-48.

2. Sangitarnavachandrika—OSM-Mss. No, Mus. 41. f-69.

3. (a) पारिपार्श्विक – [स्मरणमभिनीय] अतः ज्ञातं यज्जनकस्य श्रीशतंजीवकवेः मुदितमाधवाभिधगीतकाव्यगानामृतोर्मिणा सामाजिकहृदयं वयं पुरा न्यमज्जायामः (OSM-Mss. No. L. 58.)

(b) OHRJ-vol. IV, P-60-66 & vol. IX, P-30-35.

(ix) MUKUNDAVILĀSA

The 'Mukundavilāsamahākāvya' by Yatīndra Raghūttama Tīrtha (1620-A. D.) of Puri, which was composed in the saka year 1589 and Kaliyuga year 4768 both corresponding to 1667 A. D., is a worthy imitation of the Gītagovinda. The author who has clearly stated in the 18th introductory verse of the first canto that he wrote this work for the propitiation of Lord Jagannātha and Lord Siva, was the head of the famous Govardhana Matha of Puri, where the presiding deity is ŚrīGopāla. But from a verse it is known that he was somehow associated with Achyutapur standing on the river Sālavatī (Sāliā) to the north of the sea near the temples of Bhagavatī and Dakṣeśvar in the Bāṇapur kingdom, where ŚrīHarichandan was ruling. He was the Rājā of Bāṇapur. Achyutarājpur in his kingdom was perhaps the birth place of the poet[1].

In its benedictory verses the poet, a devotee of Sri Rādhākṛṣṇa has proclaimed the identity of different gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, or 'Param Brahma' like the sages of the vedic age, the spiritual longing of which was redominant in the society in his age. He preached the eternal truth contained in the vedic saying 'Ekaṃ Sadviprāh Babudhā Vadanti' this was the message of religious toleration, which would be seen in the benedictory verses of his work.[2] The

1. SriJayadeva O SriGitagovinda-P-267-269.

2. Mukundavilasa—Ed. Dr. B. Panda, Directorate of Culture, Orissa, BBSR, 1985 P-1-23.

sole aim of the poet philosopher in writing this work was to stress on the importance of fundamental unity of Hindu religion inspite of its apparent diversity. After the introductory verses we find hymn to the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu in the first canto of this work similar to that in the Gītagovinda in which Buddha has been taken as the ninth incarnation of Viṣṇu.

It has been divided into 12 cantos, 38 songs and 208 verses in all. The stanzas of the songs vary from 4 to 10 in number and 24 Rāgas have been used for the songs. Out of the 24 Rāgas the author has applied five new Rāgas viz, Bāladhanāsī, Vihangadā, Pīthamanjarī, Sarangī and Sindhudā. The subject matter of the work has been noted at the end of each canto like Gītagovinda such as (i) Gopīpurvānurāga (ii) Gopīvāgvilāsaprakāśa (iii) Nāradopadeśa (iv) Gaurisaṅkarapujana (v) Purvāmurāgaprakaṭana (vi) Gopipattāpaharaṇa (vii) Gopīkamoddipana (viii) Gopīvirahaprajāgaraṇa (ix) Mukundavirahanaṭana (x) Gopigovindavāgvilāsārambha (xi) Rāsavilāsa and (xii) Gopī-Kṛṣṇa Jalakrīdā and Nāradastuti. [1] The poet has tried to make the language of this work flowing and melodious as that of the Gītagovinda.

This Mukundavilāsa, written by a saintly poet of Puri which was the centre of Sanskrit culture in Orissa through the ages is the fourth appreciable and available addition

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1. Evolution of Sanskrit Lyrics in Orissa—
Culture, Cuttack, 1978, P-92.

to the imitations of the famous Gītagovinda, which are already known to the scholars.

(X) ŚIVALĪLĀMṚTA

Śivalīlāmṛtamahākāvya by poet Agnichit (Chayani) Nityānanda (1650-1734 A. D.) is an imitation of the famous Gītagovinda as it depicts the divine līlā of Śiva and Pārvatī. It is divided into ten cantos, the gist of which is given here. The first canto of this work begins with three benedictory verses in praise of Śiva and Pārvatī, whereafter the genealogy of the patron of the poet is given in 9 verses (verses 8 to 16). It then describes the birth of Pārvatī from Menā, the beauty and accomplishments of Pārvatī and the advent of Śiva to the dense forest of the Himalayas. This second canto depicts the deep and austere meditation of Pārvatī for getting Śiva as her consort. The third canto gives a vivid picture of the marriage of Siva with Pārvatī while the fourth describes the sweet and happy married life of the couple and the birth of two sons named Kārtikeya and Gaṇeśa. The fifth canto gives a description of the glories and splendour of the city of Kāśī sanctified by the presence of Śiva and Pārvatī, and of the all purifying Gangā that flows by this sacred place.

In the sixth canto the poet tells us the story of king Harischandra of Ayodhyā and his queen Satyavatī who were blessed with two sons named Nandi and Bhṛngi through the grace of Lord Śiva whom they propitiated.

The seventh canto contains the conversation between Śiva and Pārvatī about the natural beauties and sanctity of Ekāmrakānana (Bhubaneswar) which was also known as Guptakaśī, lying between Virajā (Jajpur) and Purusottama (Puri) in Utkala (Orissa). They both started for this holy place as Pārvatī longed to see it. In the eighth canto the story of two demon brothers named Kīrti and Vāsa, living in Ekāmrakānana, both of whom were trampled down to death under the feet of Pārvatī is given, This is followed by the story of the origin of Vindusarovara, the big sacred tank of Bhubaneswar and description of the beauties and sanctity of the river Gandhavatī that flows by this holy place. In the ninth canto are narrated the rāsakrīdā of Śiva and Pārvatī, sudden disappearance of Śiva from the scene, separation of Pārvati, her search for Siva in the company of dear maidens in the forest and groves lying on the bank of the Gandhavatī river, worship of Vālukā-linga by Pārvatī for propitiating her beloved. The last that is tenth canto begins with the reunion of Śiva and Pāravatī after long separation and their 'Rāsa' in groves on the banks of the Gandhavatī.

Thereafter it contains hymns to Gourī of the Siddhavana, Lord Lingarāja the presiding deity of Ekāmra-kṣetra (Bhubaneswar), Brahmeśvara one of the eight Sivalingas (Aṣṭasambhus) of this holy place. The work ends with a verse giving the name, and the gotra of the poet who was a great devotee of Śiva.

A close study of this work gives the impression that the poet drew materials for composing this work from the 'Kumārasambhavam' of the great Kālidāsa, the Śiva Purāṇa, Ekāmrapurāṇa, Ekāmrachandrikā, Svarṇādrimahodaya and others, the last three works having been compiled by Oriya scholars prior to the seventeenth century A. D which describe elaborately the sanctity and greatness of the temples and tanks etc. of Bhubaneswar. This work, though different in nature and style of writing from the above three works, also indirectly sings the glory of Ekāmrakānana, or Bhubaneswar. But it cannot be traced from which source the poet derived his information about the birth of Nandi and Bhṛngi from Satyavatī the wife of Hariṣchandra of Ayodhya as the account of the birth of Nandi given in the Sivapurāna is altogether different from this.

The work has been divided into 10 cantos like Abhinavagītagovinda and contains 42 songs and 293 verses composed in different Rāgas and metres respectively. The number of stanzas in the songs varies from four to ten like Mukundavilāsa. The author has used only 20 Rāgas for the 42 songs out of which 16 Rāgas have been borrowed from previous works. He has used four new Rāgas viz, Kalmāśī, Aśāvarī, Māru and Vangalāśrī and indicated the Talas namely Adda, Adi, Eka, Kuduka, Jhampaka, Triputa, Dedhi, Nisāri, Padi, Mantha and Yati. The subject matters of the cantos as described earlier are named as

(i) Pārvatīsambhava, (ii) Gaurītapaparipāka, (iii) Śivavivāha, (iv) Sampannanandanānandana, (v) Kaśīpraveśa (vi) Satyavatyanugraha, (vii) Ekāmrakānanavarnana (viii) Ekāmravanavihāra, (ix) Rambhoruvipralambha and (x) Rāsalīlāvarnana.[1] The work was influenced by Gītagovinda not only by its form and style but also by its philosophical message.

(xi) ŚRĪKṚSNALĪLĀMṚTA

ŚrīKṛṣṇalīlāmṛtamahākāvya by Pandita Nityânanda is a notable imitation of Gītagovinda and second work of the author. It is based on the theme of ŚrīRādhāKṛṣṇalīlā in Autumn. The work is divided into eight cantos, 38 songs and 181 verses composed in different 29 Rāgas and 26 Metres respectively. The songs of the work have also been divided further into two to eight stanzas which can be called dvipadī chatuṣpadī, ṣatpadī and aṣtāpadī songs. Out of the 29 Rāgas the author has borrowed 28 Rāgas from the previous works and applied one new Rāga namely 'Chintākedara' for the first time in this work. The subject matter of the work has been named cantowise as follows. (i) Gopikā-pūrvānurāga, (ii) Kaiśoralīlā, (iii) Rādhāvirahavādhāvatāra (iv) Rādhāmādhava-vilāsā (v) Virahivara varṇanikā-rāsotsava, (vi) Duḥsādharādha, (vii) Pramuditagovinda and (viii) Sānandamukunda.[2] The above two works of Nityānanda, are fifth and sixth imitations of Gītagovinda available in Orissa.

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1. Sivalilamrta—Ed. Dr. B, Panda, Editor Directorate of Culture, Orissa, 1978, PP-8-18.

2. SriKrsnalilamrta—Ed. Dr. B. Panda, Editor, Directorate of Culture, Orissa, 1985.

(xii) SANGĪTA CHINTĀMANI

Kavichandra Kamalalochana Khadgarāya (1775-1793 A. D.) has composed his Sangitachintāmanī in imitation of the Gītagovinda.[1] He was the son of Govinda Kavibhusana Sāmantarāya, a great Smṛtiwriter of Orissa. The Sangīta chintāmaṇi depicts the Rāsalīlā of Srī Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in eight praharas of a day in Vṛndāvana. The classification of the līlā is as follows. Niśānta līlā, Prātalīlā, Purvāhṇalīlā, Aparāhṇalīlā, Sāyāhṇalīlā, Pradoṣalīlā and Naktalīlā.

All these līlās are described in the form of songs. The same tunes as Gujjari, Rämakeri, Kamodī, Dhanāṣrī raga etc. have been used for them. The language too is modelled on the lines of the original. Also as in the Gītagovinda, the beginning is set up with a back ground after every song, some verses explanatory of the situation are added. But the work obviously lacks the melody, the diction, the rhythm, the emotional expression of the Gītagovinda.

(xiii) GĪTAMUKUNDA

This is another work by Kamalalochana Khadgaraya. It is also known as Gītamṛta. The work has been divided into 14 cantos and the following subjects have been narrated. (i) Sangītamaṅgala, (ii) Vṛndāvanānanda (iii) Darśanaharṣa (iv) Samjata-kunjotsava, (v) Sānanda Kiśora-dvandda, (vi) Chandrodayānanda, (vii) Samjāgaranagara, (viii) Vipralabdhāparādha, (ix) Sātaṅkapaṅkajākṣya, (x) Vādhitamādhava, (xi) Nirmāṇabhāva,

1. The Indian Historical quaterly—vol. XXV No, 2. P. 95-101.

(xii) Kiśoravihāramanohara, (xiii) Lalitamilana-līlā and (xiv) Mangalānangakhelana. Some of the names of the rāgas employed by Kamalalochana in his work are Gujjarī, Vasanta, Āśāvari, Rāmakeri, Gondakeri, Dhānaśri, Mālava Deśi, Varādi etc.

The songs are placed in the mouths of Kṛṣṇa. Rādhā and Viśākhā, the last being the female companion of the heroine. Thus in the Gītagovinda and Gītamṛta the actors are the same, the settings and situations are similar, the process of estrangement, sorrow, longing, jealousy, intercession, propitiation and union is the same.[1]

(xiv) GĪTASĪTĀVALLABHA

The work Gītasītavallabhamahākāvya by the poet Śitikantha (1750-A. D.) is an imitation of Gītagovinda, based on the theme of Rāmāyaṇa. It is known from the colophon that poet Śitikantha was born to Pandit Pitambara Tripathy and Champa Devi and has composed this mahākāvya at the behest of his patron Janārdan, the king of Seragada in the district of Ganjam.

The work has been divided into twelve cantos and contains 24 songs and 75 verses. The songs are composed in 'Aṣṭāpadi' style and following 13 Rāgas mainly Mālava, Mangalagujjarī, Vasanta, Rāmakerī, Gujjarī, Mālava-Gauda, Karṇāta, Deśākhya, Deśa-Varādi, Varādi, Vibhāsa, Gundakiri and Bhairavī have been used.

The subject matter of the cantos are described as follows

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1. **Evolution of Sanskrit lyrics in Orissa – Culture, P-96-97.**

(i) Viśvāmitrasamāgama (ii) Anaṅgāśramanivāsa, (iii) Tadakādivadha (iv) Dhanurbhaṅga, (v) Sītāpariṇaya, (iv) Ayodhyāpraveśa, (vii) Vanopagamana, (viii) Chitrakute Bharata samāgama, (ix) Gautamītīranivāsa, (x) Mārīchāgamana, (ix) Sītānveṣana and (xii) Rāmarājyābhiṣeka. Names of the last three cantos are not noted in the manuscript of this work.

As has been mentioned in the colophon by the poet Śitikantha, his Gitāsītāvallabha, is a true imitation of Gītagovinda in respect of form, nature, number of cantos, songs, verses, Rāgas, and metres. The poet was a devotee of Rāma and hence he has preferably described the story of Rāmāyaṇa instead of love episodes of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa that were aboundantly propagated in his time.[1]

Besides these eight complete works as stated above the following Sanskrit works namely, Pīyūṣalaharīrūpaka' by Jayadeva Acharya (1520-A. D), 'Kelikallolinī' a kāvya and 'Rāsagosthirūpaka' by Anadi Miśra (1650-A D) 'Samṛddhamādhavanātaka' by Kavibhuṣaṇa Govinda Sāmantrāy (1736-1750 A. D.) and 'Bhagavallīlāchintāmani' by Kamalalochana Khadgarāya (1775-A. D.) composed in Orissa have been accepted as the imitations of Gītagovinda. Among the other imitations composed outside Orissa, the home land of the celebrated poet Jayadeva, are state-wise mentioned below for reference of the scholars.

The imitation namely (i) Gītagaurīśa or Gītagaurīpati by

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1. Gitasitavallabha—Ed. Dr, B. Panda, Editor Directorate of Culture, Orissa, BBSR, 1981 P-3-14.

Bhānu Datta (c. 1325-A. D) (ii) Gītagopīpati and (iii) Chandikācharita chandrikā by Kṛṣṇa Datta (c. 1625-A. D.) (iv) Gītagirīśa by Rāma Bhatta (c. 1625-A. D.) (v) Kāśīgīta and (vi) Vīraviruda by Chandra Datta (c. 1650-A. D.), (vii) Gītaśaṃkara by Bhisma Miśra (c. 18th. century), (viii) Rāmagītagovinda by Jayadeva (c. 18th. century), (ix) Gītaśaṃkara by Hira (c. 18th. century), (x) Gītadigambara by Vamśamani (c. 18th. century) have been composed in Mithilā.

In Tamilnadu the works like (xi) Sivagītimālika by Chandraśekhara Sarasvatī (c. 1650-A. D), (xii) Rāmāstapadī by Rāma Shastri (c. 1685-A. D), (xiii) Sāhavilāsagīta and (xiv) Sahājirājāṣṭapadī by Pandita Dhundirāja (c. 1685-A. D), (xvi) Sangītarāghava by Chinnabema Bhupala (c. 17th. century), (xvii) Gītasundara by Sadāśiva Dikṣita (c. 1735-A. D.) (xviii) Gītaśaṃkara by Anantanārāyaṇa Dikṣita (c. 18th. century) have been composed in imitation of Gītagovinda.

The imitations namely (xix) Vidagdhamādhava nātaka, (xx) Lalitamādhava nātaka and (xxi) Gītāvalī by Rūpa Gosvāmī (c. 1530-A. D), (xxii) Sangitamādhava by Prabodhānanda (c. 1550-A. D) (xxiii) Sangītamādhava by Govinda Dāsa (c. 1575-A. D) (xxiv) Gopalachampū by Jīva Gosvāmī (c. 1592-A D) and (xxv) Jānakīgita by Hari Achārya have been composed in Bengal.

In Andhra the imitations namely (xxvi) Sṛngārarasamandana by Vithala (c. 1550-A. D), (xxvii) Gītagirīśa by SrīRāma Bhatta (c. 1550-A. D), (xxviii) ŚrīKṛṣṇalīlātarangini by Jateendra Nārāyaṇa Tirtha (1750-A. D), (xxix) Gītarāghava or Rāmagita by Kṛṣṇa Bhatta Kalānidhi (1750-A. D) and (xxx) Gītagirīśa by Venkata Reddi Shastri (18th. century) were written.

Among the other imitations (xxxi) Sangītagaṅgādhara by Nanijarāja (1739-1760 A. D) of Karnataka, (xxxii) Kṛṣṇagīti of Manavedan (1650-A. D) of Kerala (xxxiii) Sangītaraghunandana by Priya Dāsa (1832-A. D) of Madhyapradesh, (xxxiv) Saṅgītarāghava by Gangādhara (1864-A. D) of Maharastra, (xxxv) Gītaraghava by Hariśaṃkara, (xxxvi) Gītagopāla by Chaturbhuja, (xxxvii) Gītagangadhara by Rajaśekhara, (xxxviii) Gītamādhava by Revārama, (xxxix) Gītaraghava by Prabhakara (1618-A. D), (xxxx) Chhandomakhānta and (xxxxi) Chhandogovinda by Puruṣottama Bhatta (1525-A.D), (xxxxii) Gītagangadhara by Kalyāṇa, (xxxxiii) Janakīgīta by Hari Achārya, (xxxxiv) Gītamahānata and (xxxxv) Gītaganapati by some unknown poet have been composed in imitation of Gītagovinda among which the works namely (a) Abhinavagītagovinda (10 cantos) (b) Rukminīpariṇaya (6 cantos) (c) Mukundavilāsa (12 cantos) (d) ŚrīKṛṣṇalīlāmṛta (8 cantos) (e) Śivalīlāmṛta (10 cantos) (f) Gītasītavallabha (12 cantos), (g) Gītagauriśa (10 cantos), (h) Kaśīgīta (12 cantos), (i) Gītaśamkara (11 cantos), (j) Gītagirīśa (12 cantos), (k) Śivagītimalikā (10 cantos), (l) Sangītarāghava (8 cantos), (m) Gītagangadhara (12 cantos), (n) Sangītarāghava (6 cantos), (o) Sangītaraghunandana (11 cantos) (p) Ramagīta (13 cantos), (q) Gītarāghava (7 cantos) etc. are complete in form and style and available to the scholars.

Out of the sixty four imitations as stated above all the works of Bengal was influenced by the Gītagovinda was written in the post Chaitanya period, after it made popular by Mahaprabhu ŚrīChaitanya who used to listen to its recitation daily during his long stay at Puri. So also except Gītagauriśa by Bhanu Datta all the imitations of the other region were

composed in the 17th. and 18th. and even in the 19th. centuries of Christian era. On the analysis of these imitation it is found that the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa līlā formed the theme of 34 works whereas the dipiction of the divine sports of Śiva-Pārvatī and Sīta-Rāma formed the subject matter of 16 and 11 imitations respectively. The glory of Chandika has been sung in a single work and glorification of Sahaji formed the basis of two remaining works.

INFELUNCE OF GĪTAGOVINDA

The immense popularity of ŚrīGītagovinda by ŚrīJayadeva in the domain of art and literature has been undisputably established by the discovery of a large number of paintings, imitations and commentaries on this imortal work by the artists, poets and pandits of different parts of India. In the age of development or regional literatures, attempts were made by the regional poets to translate and imitate the best known works in Sanskrit literature into their mother tongues. The Gitagovinda being a most popular work in Sanskrit had translations, adaptations and commentaries in the most of the regional languages of India.

ORIYA LANGUAGE

The intensive search of manuscripts in different parts of the State has proved that Gitagovinda stands next in circulation to the 'Oriya Bhāgavata' by the saintly poet Jagannātha Dāsa one of the five intimate Oriya associates of ŚrīChaitanya at Puri. Generally in each village in Orissa a house is set apart for worship of the 'Oriya Bhāgavata' by Jagannātha Dāsa (c. 1490-1550 A. D) called 'Bhāgavataghara' where manuscripts of ŚrīGitagovinda and other religious works

are preserved. Examination of the old Oriya manuscripts has brought to light the following commentaries and imitations of the Gītagovinda while information about others are gradually being available.

DHARAṆĪDHARA

The Oriya translations of the Gītagovinda by Dharaṇidhara Dāsa (1520-A D) is known so far as the oldest and the most popular. It has been printed for several times in Orissa. The author has tried to present a faithful translation of the twelve sargas of the Gītagovinda in sixteen chhāndas or chapters having different Rāgas and Vāṇīs.[1] Dharaṇidhara does not furnish any information about his life or family in the text of his work except saying that he was a Dvija or Brāhmaṇa by caste. But his time can tentatively be fixed in the first part of the 16th century as the Vāṇīs prescribed by him are found in the Oriya Kāvyas Rāmavibhā and Kalpalatā by Arjuna Dāsa (c. 1520-A. D) Chāta Ichhāvatī by Vanamāli Dāsa (1575-A. D)

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1. i) मणोहि भिआइ जनक राये ए वाणीरे गाइव। ii) मङ्गलगुज्जरी । iii) गुज्जरी (सङ्गमतिआरिवाणी) । iv) शोकवराडी (आषाढ़शुक्लवाणी) । v) चोखी (सपनचेतिआ वाणी)। vi) चिन्तादेशाख्य । vii) नलनीगौड़ा । viii) मङ्गल भेदमारिया । ix) चिन्ताभैरव (करे कृपाणयेसाधुकर) । x) काली। xi) वङ्गलाश्री। xii) मङ्गल। xiii) शुण हे रसिकजने ज्येष्ठपौर्णमीदिन वाणी)। xiv) वोलन्ति द्रुपददुहितापति ए वाणी। xv) केदार (चक्रकेलि वाणी) & xvi) वसन्त भैरव ।

and Parimalā by Narasingha Seṇa (1497-1535 A.D) and Premalochanā by Viṣṇu Dāsa (1600-A. D)[1]

The language of Dharaṇīdhara is simple, flowing and melodious, but following the 'Sarvangasundarītīkā' by Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, he has not translated ninteen verses including one more verse (xii·9) of the Gītagovinda as they were looked upon as interpolations by him.

VṚNDĀVANA DĀSA

The Gītagovinda translated by Vṛndāvana Dāsa (1625-A. D) is known as 'Rasavāridhi'. The twelve sargas of the Gītagovinda have been translated into 20 Oriya Chhāndas or Chapters with different Rāgas and Vāṇīs in this work.[2] The following Rāgas of the Gītagovinda i. e. Mālava, Gujjarī, Rāmakerī, Varādī have been used in this work. It is not a faithful translation of the Gītagovinda like that of Dharaṇīdhara. He has also used some new Rāgas like Mangaladhanāsī, Bhupāla, Kalyāna-ahārī, Rodhā, Kāmodī and Kanśika with the Vāṇīs that were used in previous Oriya kāvyas.

DĪNAKṚSNA DĀSA

The poet Dīnakṛṣṇa Dāsa or Kṛṣṇa Dāsa a Rajput settler

1. i) Kalpalata—Ed, K, N. Mahapatra, Orissa State Museum, BBSR, 1961. P-2-22.
   ii) Chata Ichhavati—do— P-2-20.
   iii) Parimala —do— P-22-33.
   iv) Premalochana —do— P-7-25.
2. (a) Rasavaridhi—Ed. Dr. A. B. Mohanty, Prachi Samiti, Cuttack.
   (b) Gopichandan—Chanda Dasa (1568-1600 A. D), Ed. Pandit N. Mishra, Orissa Sahitya Akademi, BBSR, 1960.

in Northern Orissa was a prolific writer of 17th century. He was the author of a large number of works most of which were written under the patronage of Balarāma Sāmantasimhāra, a chieftain of Dhenkanala kingdom (c. 1650-A D) where the author was residing in the village of Ekaghariā, on the south bank of the river Brāhamanī. In his work entitled 'Amṛ tasagara vali' containing 45 chapters, he has described the entire Gopalīlā of the 10th skanda of the Bhāgavata purāṇa beginning from the birth of SrīKṛ ṣṇa till the accession of Ugrasena on the throne after the death of Kamsa. Twenty chapters of this work (13th to 32nd) depicting the Rāsalīlā of ŚrīRādhā and ŚrīKṛ ṣṇa are based on the theme of Gītagovinda. Thus he has cleverly incorporated ŚrīGītagovinda into the Bhāgavata both of which were immensely popular in Orissa. He has explained the 24 songs and 72 verses of the Gītagovinda in this work through the mercy of lord Jagannātha.[1]

VAJARI DĀSA

The saint poet Vajari Dāsa of North India, who had settled in 'Asokakholagarha' wrote a translation of ŚrīGītagovinda called 'Arthagovinda' in the popular 'Navākṣari Bhāgavatavṛ tte' in the 21st Anka year of Gajapati Mukunda Deva.[2] He has also left the translation of the interpolated

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1. महाकाव्य श्रीगीतगोविन्द येहु । एहिठारु अर्थ वढिला सेहु ॥
वास्तरी शोलक चविशगाथा । एहि वोलिरे अछि सवु कथा ॥
श्रीगीतगोविन्द अर्थर वाणी । सान्निध्य करि भेटाइलि आणि ॥
आज्ञा हेले यहुँ श्रीजगन्नाथ । तेणु से कहिलि एथिर अथं ॥
(OSM—Mss. No. OL. 1364)

2. Arthagovinda—Ed. D. Pattanaik, Directorate of Culture, Orissa, BBSR, 1970, P-144.

verses and divided the work into 27 chapters. The date of composition of this work is 1674-A. D.[1]

UDDHAVA DĀSA

The poet Uddhava Dāsa (c. 17th. C. A. D), a blacksmith by caste translated the Gītagovinda into Oriya verses being directed in a dream by his respected Guru Jagannātha Miśra to take up this notable work. It is also known that his Guru Jagannātha Miśra had written a commentary on this work fortunately the manuscript of which has been discovered.[2]

ANANTA RATHA

From the colophon of the manuscript containing the translation of the Gītagovinda in Oriya prose, it is known that Ananta Ratha bearing the title of Vāṇībhūṣana wrote this at the request of king Divyasimha Deva who can be identified with Gajapati Divyasimha Deva I (1688-1716-A. D) ruler of Khurda territory.[3]

JAGANNĀTHA MIŚRA

Jagannātha Miśra, the author of the translation of Gīta-

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1. (a) Dhenkanala Bhugola—R. C. Bhaktivinoda, 1932, P-37-42.
   (b) Khurudha Itihasa—P-128,

2. श्रीजगन्नाथमिश्रे आसि । स्वप्ने मोहर पाशे वसि ॥
   वोइले शुण मोर पुत्र । जयदेवर कर अर्थ ॥
   (OSM—Mss No. OL. 599)

3. श्रीदिव्यसिंहदेवनाम्न राज्ञानुज्ञया वाणीभूषणपद्धत्यानन्तरथशर्मणा रचितार्थनिधिनाम्ना परमगुरुणा लिखितमिदं गीतगोविन्दाख्यं सार्थपुस्तकम् ।
   (Utkala University Library—Mss.)

govinda is known to be a Sanskrit scholar of repute. He can be identified with Jagannātha Miśrā the Guru of Uddhava Dāsa, who is stated to have explained the Gītagovinda in Oriya prose. The date of composition of this work may tentatively be placed in the middle of the sixteenth century.[1]

VĀSUDEVA MIŚRA

There is a manuscript containing the prose translation of the Gītagovinda by Vāsudeva, which is called 'Bālabodhinī-ṭīkā'. No authentic information is available about the author of this ṭīkā.[2]

PINDIKA ŚRĪCHANDANA

Pindika ŚrīChandana, a native of village Sānapadar under Begunia P. S. of the Puri district, who was a contemporary of Gajapati Divyasimha Deva I of Khurda (1688-1716 A. D) wrote his 'Vasantarāsa' an imitation of ŚrīGītagovinda in Bengali for wide circulation among the Bengali followers of ŚrīChaitanya. The author has also incorporated some sweet Oriya songs at different places of the text. It gained great popularity due to its simple, charming and flowing language for which large number of manuscripts of this work is available and it has been printed by several publishers. This Rāsalīlā was staged before the large audiences of the rural area.[3]

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1. SriGitagovinda—Ed. Smt. P. Mishra, Directorate of Culture, BBSR, 1983, P-2.
2. The manuscript is preserved in the library of the Utkala University.
3. Vasantarasa—Datta Press, Cuttack, 1925.

ŚYĀMASUNDARA BHANJA

Śyâmasundara Bhanja, a Zamindar of the small estate of Haladia near Khurda in the district of Puri who flourished in the 1st part of the last century was an author of some works the manuscripts of five of which have been acquired for the manuscripts library of the Orissa State Museum. Out of these 'Vasantakrīdā samujvala Rasāvali' written in Bengali language is a translation of the Gītagovinda. Though modelled on the 'Vasantarāsa' of ŚrīChandana it is inferior to that in some respects.

Besides the above translation of the Gītagovinda in poetry and prose its influence on the classical literature of Orissa was tremendously felt as all the Oriya kävyas beginning from Arjuna Dâsa (c. 1520) to Kavisurya Baladeva Ratha (1810-A. D) have used different Rāgas Vṛttas, Vāṇis and Tālas as has been used in the Gītagovinda. This musical aspect of the Gitagovinda was superbly followed by all the kāvya writers of Orissa, which is rarely found in other north Indian languages.

Among hundreds of small and big Kṛṣṇa kāvyas, the excellent Rasakallola by Dinakṛṣṇa Dāsa, Rahasyamanjari by Devadurllabha Dāsa, Vidagdha Chintamani by Abhimanyu Sāmantasimhāra (c. 1750-A. D) and Kishorachandrānana Champu by Kavis urya Baladeva Ratha, bear close resemblance with the Gītagovinda as regards style, diction and flowing melody out of which the Champu is still very popular in Orissa.

HINDI LITERATURE

CHĀND BARDAI—

In the 'Pṛthviraja Rāso' written by Chand Bardai the

Rajput poet in the court of Pṛthviraja, the last independent Hindu sovereign of Delhi, Jayadeva is described as a great saintly poet[1] who was always singing the glory of Govinda.

VIDYĀPATI

The Gītagovinda was popularised among the Hindi speaking people of Northern India by the famous Maithili poet Vidyâpati Thakur. Though he was a smârta and devotee of Śiva, he composed a large number of sweet, simple and enchanting songs on the love episode of SriRādhâ and Kṛṣṇa in Maithili language. By his time the Gītagovinda had become wellknown among the scholars of Mithila due to its commentary called 'Sāradīpikā' and imitation styled 'Gītagaurīśa' written by Jagaddhara and Bhânu Datta respectively, both of whom were great Sanskrit scholars following Saiva faith. Being inspired by the noble example set by them, Vidyâpati who was usually learned in Sanskrit displayed his talent in composing padâvalis in his mother tongue which could vie with those of SriJayadeva. For this he was honoured with the title of 'AbhinavaJayadeva' by his patron Śivasimha, ruler of Mithila who died in 1414 or 1416 A. D.[2]

Vidyâpati was one of the luckiest poets of the world as he could get this patronage of seven successors of Sivasimha, beginning from Lakṣmī Devī (wife of Sivasimha) ending with 13 Bhairevendrasimha. During the long period he flooded the Maithili literature by his padâvalis which are broadly

1 जयदेव अठठ कवी कव्विराय ।
जिनै केवल कीर्त्ति गोविन्द गाय ॥

2. History of Mithila—P-312-315.

divided into three classes, (a) Saiva (b) Vaiṣṇava and (c) general. His Saivapadavalis are purely devotional whereas in his Vaiṣṇava padavalis, erotic sentiment is predominant. His Vaiṣnava padāvalis are marked as epic in Hindi literature which inspired Chandi Dāsa and others in Bengal and the 'Astachhap' poets of Vṛndavana to compose similar songs in Bengali and Brajaboli respectively. The song entitled 'Vasantalīlā' by Vidyāpati clearly indicates how it has been influenced by the songs of the Gītagovinda.

KABIRDĀSA

The saintly poet Kabir who flourished during the reign of Sikandar Lodi (1488-1513 A. D) respectfully mentions Jayadeva as a great devotee.[1]

Vallabhāchārya (1479-1530 A. D) a saintly poet and scholar of the Andhra country and founder of 'Suddhādvaitavāda' made Vṛndāvana the centre of his activities like Sri Nimbarka.[2] He greatly popularised the worship of SrīRādhā-Kṛṣṇa by preaching that SriKṛṣṇa was 'Parambrahma' and SriRādhā was his spouse. At his request, his disciple Purān Malla Kṣatri built a magnificent temple for SriNattaji on the Govardhana hill (1516-A. D) which attracted thousands of devotees and pilgrims from different parts of India accepted SriGītagovinda as a scripture, which enhanced its prestige and popularity among his followers.[3]

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1. गुरु प्रसादी जयदेव नाम । भगति की प्रेमी एनही है जान ॥

2. Hindisahityaka Itihasa—R. C. Sukla, P-238,

3. Hindi Sahityaka Itihasa—P-55.

VITHALANĀTHA

The Vaiṣṇava devotee Vithalanathji son of Vallabhāchārya continued as the head of the temple management till his death in 1585-A. D. He was the author of an imitation of the Gītagovinda entitled 'Sṛngāramandanam' and his disciple Vanamālī Bhatta wrote a commentary on it called 'Sanjīvanī'. The high estimation in which the Gītagovinda was held by him inspired the eight favoured Vrajaboli poets called 'Astachhapa' (four were the disciples of his father) to describe the ideas and sentiments contained in it.

SURDĀSA

Surdāsa, a disciple of Vallbhāchārya since 1530-A. D. and performing 'Kirtan' in the temple of Srinathji was the greatest of the 'Astachhapa' poets. Though the original Sanskrit Bhāgavat does not mention Rādhā, Sur Dāsa in his translation called 'Surasāgara' has impressively described the love episode of Śrī Rādhā and ŚrīKṛṣṇa as seen in the Padāvalīs of SriJayadeva and Vidyāpati Thakur.

NANDA DĀSA

Nanda Dāsa, one of the Astachhapa poets wrote 'Rāsapanchadhyāyī' a translation of five Chapters (29-33) of the 10th. skandha of the Bhāgavata in which the influence of the Gītagovinda is clearly marked, so he has been designated as 'Hindika Gītagovinda' by Viyogi Hari.

The other six Astachhapa poets Kṛṣṇa Dāsa, Chhita Svāmī and Govinda Svāmī also popularised the prema-līlā of Śrī-Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa through their writings.

MIRĀ BAI

Mirā Bai, the widowed daughter-in-law of Rāṇā Sangrama Simha was a famous poetess of Rajasthan. The simple, sweet and melodious prayer songs or bhajans composed by her breathe the spirit of her unparalleled devotion to Kṛṣṇa whom she regarded as her lover. She wrote a commentary on the Gīta-govinda in Rajsthani language.[1]

NĀBHĀ DĀSA

Nābhā Dāsa, a Sādhu of Galata in the Jeypore kingdom of Rajsthan, a disciple of Svami Agra Dāsa and a great devotee of Ramachandra was the author of a very popular work called 'Bhaktamālā' in Hindi written in Samvat 1642 or 1585 A. D. In this work the biographies of about two hundred saints and saintly poets are narrated in simple language.

Another poet named Priya Dāsa wrote a tīkā on the Bhaktamala of Nabhaji in Samvat 1769 or 1712 A. D. in which more information is given about ŚrīJayadeva.[2] These works made Jayadeva well-known among the Hindi speaking people of Northern India.

HITA HARIVAMŚA

Hita Harivaṃśas (1542-A. D.), founder of the 'Rādhāvallabha sampradāya', laid great stress on the worship of Rādhā for which he drew inspiration from the Gītagovinda.

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1. Hindi Sahityaka Itihasa—P-553, 564, 582.
2. Ibid. P-573, 238, 500.

GUJRATI LITERATURE

Due to the existence of Dvaraka and Prabhasa Pattana in Gujrat, two sacred places connected with the life and activities of ŚrīKṛṣṇa, the legends about him was popular among the masses from the beginning of the Christian era. The Kṛṣṇa temple built near Girnar in 455-A. D is one of the oldest Kṛṣṇa temples of India.[1] So within a century of its composition at Śrīkṣetra or Puri ŚrīGītagovinda gained currency in Gujrat and the verse (I-5) of it was quoted in the maṅgalācharana of a stone inscription of king Sāranga Deva, Baghel dynasty ruling from Auhillpattana in 1348 Vikram samvat or 1291-A. D This bears evidence regarding the appreciation of this work in Gujrat in the thirteenth century.[2]

NARASIMH MEHETĀ

In the sixteenth century the worship of ŚrīRādhā-Kṛṣṇa became wide spread in Gujrat due to activities of ŚrīVallabhāchārya who established temples and monasteries at different places of this region to propagate his faith. In that age flourished Narasimh Mehetā, the greatest classical poet of Gujrat, who wrote a large number of padāvalī, and bhajans on the Premalīlā of SriRādhā and Kṛṣṇa, which he used to sing in a sweet voice before the spell-bound audience. The collection of his padas is called Sṛngāramālā.

His best work entitled 'Surat samgrām' narrates in an interesting manner the story of an erotic deed between ŚrīKṛṣṇa and

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1. Gujrat and its literature—Dr. K. M, Munshi, Bombay, 1954, P-124.
2. Journal of the University of Bombay vol. VI part—VI, P-123-137.

his associates on one side and ŚrīRādhā and the gopis on the other on a full-moon night of the spring season. Before the fight started the poet Narasimha Mehetā was sent by SriRādhā to the camp of SriKṛṣṇa with a proposal to negotiate for peace, which was not accepted. SriKṛṣṇa on the other hand deputed Jayadeva, author of Gītagovinda with a letter to SriRādhā requesting her to surrender without any fight to which she did not agree. As no peace could he negotiated both the parties started fighting in which the weapons used were side-long glances, kisses, embraces. SriKṛṣṇa who was at first winning, fell fighting being pierced by the arrow of cupid. Seeing this his associates ran from the battle field. The triumphant gopis, proud of their victory pursued the fugitives and occupied Vraja. The lines referring to Jayadeva proves the influence of Gītagovinda in Gujrati literature.[1] Besides a manuscript copied in Samvat 1664 or 1607-A. D. the translation of the Gītagovinda on Gujarati prose is traced.[2]

SRIGURUGRANTHA SAHEB

Though the influence of ŚrīGītagovinda on the old Punjabi literature is not known, its author SrīJayadeva is mentioned respectfully in SriGurugranthasaheb compiled by Srī Arjuna, (1604-AD) the fifth guru of the Sikhs of India.

In the granthasaheb, the padāvalis of Guru Nanak, Jayadeva and fifteen other saints have been collected. There are two padas or verses of Jayadeva in this holy book[3] The first verse

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1. Gujrat and its literature—P-193-195.

2, Journal of the University of Bombay— Vol, VI. Pt-VI, P-129-130.

3. आदि गुरुग्रन्थसाहिब –पृ-५१६

by ŚrīJayadeva speaks of attainment of 'Brahmanirvāṇa' by yogic practices. It may be conjectured that the poet who belonged to Orissa which was famous for its culture of Hatta-yoga practices, might have written some padas in Apabhramsa for the followers of Yogamārga.

The other verse, originally written in Apabhramsa and later on changed into corrupt Sanskrit, speaks of devotion to Rama, Chakradhara, Hari and Govinda which removes the fear of birth, old age and death and confers all-blessings and success in life. This verse was composed for the followers of Bhaktimārga.[1]

ASSAMESE LITERATURE

Songs depicting the Rāsalīlā of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā was unknown in early Assamese vaiṣṇavite poetry. It was Rāmānanda Dvija, a contemporary of the Ahour king Chakradhvaja Simha (1664 A. D) who first composed a large number of lyrics on the earlier models, some of which like Jayadeva's Gītagovinda are very popular as they narrate the love episode of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.[2]

Kavi Rāma Sarasvati, who was a voluminous writer made an Assamese version of Jayadeva's Gītagovinda. But this is not a literal translation as he introduced some episodes from the Bhāgavata purāṇa in it. Further the Assamese version has given a Vaiṣṇava bias and to tune it with the ideals of Assam Vaiṣṇavism the intensity of the erotic sentiment of the

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1. कवि जयदेव ओ श्रीगीतगोविन्द (वङ्गला)—पृ-४७

2. History of Assamese Literature—Dr. B. K. Barua, P—53.

original was much reduced.[1] A manuscript of this work noticed recently contains five illustrations of the court of Rudra Simha and four others depict the Rāsalīlā of SriRādhā-Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana.[2]

BENGALI LITERATURE:

CHANDI DĀSA –

Ananta Badu Chandi Dāsa or Badu Chandi Dāsa who is tentatively assigned to the first half of the fifteenth century was the author of a work called 'SriKṛṣṇakirtan' in which the Gītagovinda has been translated and certain passages of it clearly indicate the influence of the Gītagovinda. In imitation of the songs of Vidyāpati, a famous Bengali poet, Chandi Dāsa (c. 15 th. C. A. D) wrote a large number of songs in melodious language on the premalīlā of SriRādhā and SriKṛṣṇa drawing his inspiration from the Gītagovinda. These used to be listened to by SriChaitanya with devotion.

GIRIDHARA DĀSA

The Bengali translation of the Gītagovinda by the authors namely Giridhara Dāsa, Rasamaya Dāsa and Dvija Prāṇakṛṣṇa have been traced. Of these the oldest by Giridhar Dāsa was written in saka year 1658 or 1736 A. D.[3] He was a resident of village Hatinala situated on the bank of river Badākar. The translation is faithful, the theme and the Rāgas of the Gītagovinda have been clearly followed.

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1. Ibid—P-57.
2. The Indian Historical Quarterly—Vol. XXVIII, P-286.
3. समाप्त करिल पद इपुरससोमे ।
   कृष्णपक्ष आषाढ़र दिवस पञ्चमे ॥

DVIJA PRĀNAKṚSNA

The translation of Gītagovinda by Dvija Prāṇakṛṣna is called Jayadeva Prasādāvali. He was the resident of the village Telia near Murshidabad. Vidya Kavichandra son of Kavikarnapura and grandson of Vaidyaviśārada and a resident of Khandaghosa, wrote a translation of the Gītagovinda to please his patron Sri Seikh Farid. There is also a Gītagovinda translated by Jagatsimha in the collection of the Darbar of CoochBehar [1]

MAHARASTRI LITERATURE

The fame of Jayadeva as a saintly poet spread in Maharastra at least before the 16th century. In Sampradāya Kaladipikā of Gadadhara composed in 1554 A. D., it is stated that Jayadeva was in his previous incarnation Bilva mangala. [2] Gadadhara was a disciple of Vithalanatha, son of Vallabhāchārya. Mahipati in his 'Bhakta Vijaya' written in old Maharastri language has also narrated the life history of Jayadeva as gathered from traditions. Though the worship of Kṛṣṇa was popular in Maharastra Rādhā glorified in the Gītagovinda was not associated with him as in the systems of Nimbarka, Vallabha and Chaitanya, while Rukminī, the lawful wife was united with him in the Maratha country. In the religious literature of the country Vitthola or Kṛṣṇa is almost exclusively

1. वाङ्गला साहित्येर इतिहास—१म खण्ड—अपशर्द्ध—पृ-३७३-३७६

2. Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit literature—
K. K. Raja, P—43,

spoken of as Rukmiṇipati of Rukmiṇivara, the lord or husband of Rukmiṇī and not as Rādhāvallabha or the lover of Rādhā. Thus the Vaisnavism of the Maratha country associated with these two names, is more sober and pure than that of the systems named above. Rāhi, the Maratha form of Rādhikā is not unknown, but an insignificant place is assigned to her. The sports of Kṛṣṇa in Gokula are also represented occasionally in the mode of worship, but very little importance is attached to them. [1]

MALAYALAM LITERATURE

Kṛṣṇagiti by Mānaveda which was composed in 1652 A. D. describes the story of Kṛṣṇa's life in eight cantoes composed on the model of Jayadeva's Gītagovinda. It contains verses as well as musical portions and is intended to be enacted. The performance is called Kṛṣṇa-attam. It became very popular throughout Kerala, not only because of the royal support but also of its intrinsic merit. There is a story that the Kathākali was modelled on the Kṛṣṇa-attam.

Even now it is staged annually in the Guruvayur temple. 'Kathākali', the famous dance drama of Kerala, produced a very rich literature of its own in the 18th and 19th centuries. The texts of the Kathakali are on the model of Jayadeva's Gītagovinda and contains long verses mostly in Sanskrit introducing the scenes and Malayalam songs giving the dialogues.

1, Vaisnavism, Saivism and minor religious systems—P-89.

More than one hundred Kathakali works are available.[1]

VISUAL AND PERFORMING ARTS

Gītagovinda has inspired the visual and performing art traditions of India far and wide. The visual traditions of Gītagovinda extended from East to West touching Orissa, Nepal, Bengal, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujrat. The Gītagovinda singing and dance and drama are also a general feature of performing arts in Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu, Keral and Manipur, besides the states already mentioned.

The dramatic character with vivid description of nature and human sentiments of love and separations has become an inspiring theme for artists to portray in their own regional styles. The theme of the Gītagovinda which took Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as heroine and hero could fit very well to the general mood of the time which centred around the cult of Bhakti. The artists found beautiful visual imageries, picturisation of events and places which were easily translated into the pictures. To take for instance the description of nature with Tāla, Tamāla, Vakula, Kimśuka, Ketaka, woods, rivers and river side forests were totally identified with Orissan rural settings and the village scribes illustrated Gītagovinda being totally absorbed in the atmosphere around. The Pahari artists could find similar visual possibilities in the hills and valleys, winding rivulets and took all these to their Gītagovinda illustrations.

2, The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit literature—
P-101, 102 & 246.

In Orissa so far we have been able to collect more than thirty illustrated Gītagovinda palmleaf manuscripts which are in the collections of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. This number includes full text of Gītagovinda manuscripts, Daśāvatara paintings and stray leaves with illustrations. Besides, several leaves of Gītagovinda are scattered over in different museums in India and abroad. Orissan Gītagovinda-illustrated palmleaf manuscripts are in the collections of L. D Institute, Ahmedabad, Chandigarh Museum, Salarjung Museum, Kamal and Jagdish Mittal Museum of Indian Art, Hyderabad, Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta, Indian Museum, Calcutta, Museum Reitberg Zurich, Switzerland, British Museum, London and India office Library, London.

Gītagovinda miniature paintings on paper, though of a later period, are of absorbing interest. Such stray sheets are in the collections of Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benaras and National Museum, New Delhi. Gītagovinda has also been woven in textiles popularly known as 'Khanduā' and 'Phetā' are used in the rituals of Jagannātha temple at Puri. Selective couplets from Gītagovinda have been tiedyed in these fabrics. We have a recorded visual tradition in all these art-form from 15th century in Orissa.

Gītagovinda has become the main theme of classical Odisi dance and music. The Odisi music provides the basic musical structure to the Odisi dance which is mainly fabricated on the themetic content of Gītagovinda. The influence of the Gītagovinda is so intense that the Daśāvatāra dancing has been identified with Odisi dance

of Orissa. The tradition of Gītagovinda has created a class of Odisi dancers called Māhārīs in the Jagannātha temple. at Puri. The singing of the Gītagovinda has become so popular in Orissa that it has become a tradition not only in Vaiṣṇava temples but also in Saiva and Sakta temples. The lyrical quality of the Gītagovinda is so sweet and captivating that in Orissa people recite Gītagovinda as a matter of routine without even being able to realise the meaning of the songs.

Gītagovinda influenced the art and literary tradition of our country to such an enermous degree that it infiltrated into the life style of our people. A work which surpasses the narrow limits of place and frontier, language and literature and which is so dear to people, is bound to reflect the national character of the people of Orissa.

EDITORIAL

The present edition of Gītagovinda is being published with two commentaries viz Sarvāṅgasundarī tīkā by Kavirāja Nārāyaṇa Dāsa and Srutirajanītīkā by Laksmana Suri for the first time, There are six palmleaf manuscripts three of Sarvāṅgasundarītīkā and other three of Srutirajanī tīkā in the manuscript library of the Orissa State Museum. Bhubaneswer They are under the cat No. L. 129-(6), 464, 513 and No. L. 12, 469, 548 respectively. Out of these manuscripts No. L, 129-(6) (SS) and No L 12 (SR) have been utilised in this edition. This volume has been edited on the basis of the following books the symbols of which noted under the footnotes are indicated against each —

(i) Gītagovinda with Sarvāṅgasundarītīkā as (क)
(i i) Gītagovinda with Srutiranjanī tīkā as (ख)

(iii) Arthagovinda by Vajari Dāsa, 1970 as (ग)
(iv) Gītagovinda-Nirnaya Sagara Press Edn. 1937 as (घ)
(v) Gītagovinda-Bombay edition, 1965 as (ङ)
(vi) Gītagovinda-Chawkhambha edition, 1968 as (च)
(vii) Gītagovinda-B. S. Miller edition, 1978 as (छ)

The text of the present edition of Gītagovinda has been determined basing on the Sarvāṅgasundarītikā which is accepted as one of the earliest Sanskrit commentaries of India. The verses interpolated in different other editions have not been taken into account to preserve the originality of the Gītagovinda.

There was a proposal to print all the papers related to ŚrīJayadeva and ŚrīGītagovinda written by late K. N. Mahāpātra, an acclaimed research scholar and eminent historian of India, as the introduction to this edition. But it was felt necessary to revise those papers as the same were prepared more than twenty years ago. Accordingly the entire work was compiled and revised and a few new findings were included which may be of interest to the readers for a total comprehension of the subject-matter. I am grateful to late K. N. Mahapatra, retired superintendent of State Archaeology, Orissa, whose research materials have enriched this Volume.

I convey my heartful thanks to Pandit Kulamani Mishra, retired professor of Dharmashastra, Sadasiva Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapitha, Puri, my teacher, Pandit Nilamani Dash, retired Headpandit, Madhusudan Sanskrit Vidyapitha, Kedarpur, Balasore, Pandit Nilamani Mishra, Curator, Sanskrit Studies, Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, Srimatī Pramilā Mishra, Editor, Directorate of Culture, Orissa, Bhubaneswar, Dr. Dinanath Pathi, Principal B. K. College of Art and

Crafts, Govt. of Orissa, Bhubaneswar and Sri Suresh Chandra Jena and Srimati Sakuntala Panda, Asst Editors, Directorate of culture, Orissa, Bhubaneswar for their valuable advice and timely ungrudging help in various matters during the time of editing, preparation of scripts and printing of this Volume

I express my thanks to the authorities of the Govt. Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute ,Poona, Centre of Advanced Studies in Sanskrit University of Poona, Asiatic Society, Bengal, National Library, Calcutta, Parija Library, Utkal University, Vanivihar Bhubaneswar Orissa State Archives and Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar for their assistance and co-operation.

I am thankful to Sri Dibyasingha Tripathy, I. A. S. Director of Sports and Culture, Orissa and Sri Prabhanjan Parida, Assistant Director (p) of Culture, Orissa, Bhubaneswar who have taken necessary steps for early publication of this Volume.

I am also thankful to Sri Baikunthanath Acharya, retired Headmaster, and printer and proprietor of Saptarshi Printers, Cuttack who has extended full co-operation for bringing out this publication.

Inspite of our best attempts, the printing errors in this Volume could not be avoided totally due to various reasons. Hence the learned readers and scholars are solicited to bear with this short-coming while appreciating the work of Gitagovinda. I may conclude with the following words,

विगुणोऽपि काव्यबन्धः साधूनामाननं गतः स्वदते ।
फुत्कारोऽपि सुवंशेरनूद्यमानः श्रुति हरति ॥

Aksayatrtiya
The 23rd. April, 1985

Bhagaban Panda
Editor.

विषय सूची